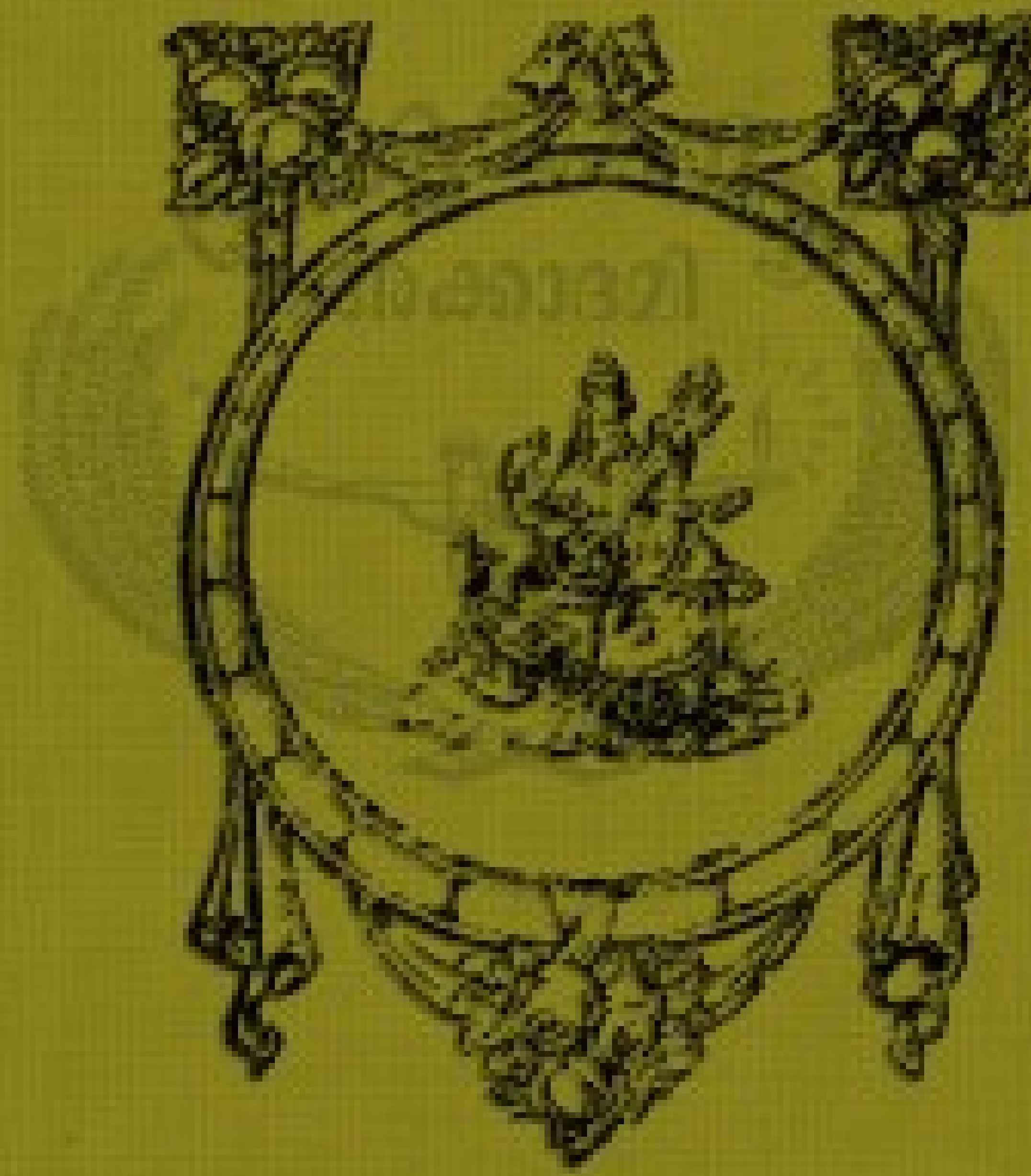


**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL**



**Dr. P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI**

HISTORY  
GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL  
AND THEIR  
RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL  
LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

[THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE PH. D. DEGREE OF THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY  
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BY

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1934

*Respectfully Dedicated*

*to*  
*My Acharya*

*Mahamahopadhyaya Tilyavocarpali Daršana Kalanidhi Kulapati*

*Prof. P. Kappaswami Sastricar Aol.,*

*M.A., F.C.S. (Retd.)*





## PREFACE.

The author of *Tolkāppiyam* may be said, for all practical purposes, to be the father of grammatical theories in Tamil Language, since the works of his teacher Agastya and of Agastya's eleven other disciples are not now available. Tamil Grammatical Theories have proceeded along two lines of development. One may be characterised as a progressive line and the other, a zigzag one. On the one hand, new theories came to be propounded and old theories came to be readjusted by grammarians, like the authors of *Viracōliyam*, *Naṅṅūl*, *Pirayōkavivēkam*, *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, *Toṅṅūlviḷakkam*, etc., in the light of contemporary tendencies in literature and the inevitable changes brought on by usage. On the other hand, there appear to have been two schools of thought of an entirely different nature which have, by their influence, dragged the progress of grammatical theories along a zigzag course. *Tolkāppiyaṅār* belonged to one of them and the author of *Viracōliyam* represented the other. And among the later grammarians there is observable an interesting rhythmic oscillation of views between these two opposite schools. *Nēminūtam* and *Naṅṅūl* which succeeded *Viracōliyam* switched back to *Tolkāppiyaṅār*'s view-point, while *Pirayōkavivēkam* which forms the next important contribution reverted to *Viracōliyam* school. The more recent grammatical works tend to converge towards *Tolkāppiyaṅār*'s school.

Probably for the first time, an attempt will now be made to present grammatical theories in Tamil Language in a historical setting and to examine how far they were influenced by the corresponding theories in Sanskrit grammatical literature. This thesis embodies the result of my independent work in the sphere of Tamil Grammatical literature. It may also incidentally enable one to appreciate the value of *Tolkāppiyam* in any endeavour to

account for several interesting grammatical categories in Tamil from the standpoint of modern linguistic history. In its preparation for the press, I have had the advantage of using the suggestions made by the examiners who valued the thesis submitted by me.

Attention is solicited, in particular, to the following portion of my thesis, in which will be found embodied such suggestions and ideas as I may claim to be original in the sense that they were arrived at through my independent study and investigation since 1925, and that they are set forth by me for the first time, so far as I know.

1. The real nature of *uricol* according to Tolkāppiyaṅār.  
*Vide pp. 199 to 203.*
2. The final element in the indeclinable participle forms *koḷi, acaii, iri*.  
*Vide pp. 150 to 153.*
3. How *kaḷ* which was the pluralising particle only of *asṛiṇai* nouns in the ancient period came to be used in the verbs of *uyartiṇai* also.  
*Vide p. 164.*
4. The possible explanation from the literary evidence of the metamorphosis of the ancient *āṇ* (the third-case-suffix) and *iṅ* (the fifth-case-suffix) into *āl* and *il* respectively in the later periods.  
*Vide pp. 115 and 116.*
5. The explanation regarding the origin of 'a' the sixth-case-suffix.  
*Vide p. 114.*
6. The possible origin of 'a' in the participles *ceyhiṅga* and *ceyta*.  
*Vide p. 186.*
7. History of the metamorphosis of *niṅ* (2nd personal pronoun singular base of the ancient period) to *uṅ* of the later periods from literary evidence.  
*Vide pp. 132 and 133.*
8. Probable origin of the gerunds ending in *pāṅ, vāṅ, pākkū* and *vākkū* in the later periods.  
*Vide pp. 193 and 194.*
9. The possibility of Tolkāppiyaṅār having had for his model the works noted below for the sections noted against each:—

## SECTION:

## MODEL:

- (a) 1st & 2nd sections in *Eḷuttatikāram* dealing with the initial and final vowels and consonants and the medial consonants in Tamil words. Similar sections in Prātiśākhya in general and Ṛg-Vēda Prātiśākhya in particular. *Vide* pp. 41 and 42; 61 to 64.
- (b) 3rd section in *Eḷuttatikāram* dealing with the place of production of *k, ṅ, c, ṅ, ṣ, ṣ, ṣ, m*, etc. Similar sections in Prātiśākhya in general and Taittirīya Prātiśākhya in particular. *Vide* pp. 45 and 46.
- (c) *Iṭaiyiyal* in Collatikāram. 1st chapter in Yāska's Nirukta. *Vide* pp. 197 & 198.
- (d) *Uriyiyal* in Collatikāram. 2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters in Yāska's Nirukta. *Vide* pp. 201 and 202.
10. The probable reason why Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions that there is no single letter having three mātrās. *Vide* pp. 34 to 36.
11. Similarity between Tol. E. 83 dealing with origin of speech sounds and certain verses in Pāṇini Śikṣā. *Vide* p. 6.
12. The difference between Sanskrit *ē, āi, ō* and *āu* and Tamil *ē, ai, ō* and *au*. *Vide* pp. 28 to 31.
13. The untenability of Dr. Caldwell's Theory of Convertibility of surds and sonants in the ancient period of Tamil Language. *Vide* pp. 54 to 58.
14. The untenability of Dr. Caldwell's idea regarding the origin of Sanskrit cerebrals:—One of the four points mentioned against his view is the difference in the pronunciation of Tamil *ṣ* and *ṣ* and Sanskrit *ṣ* and *ṣ* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār. *Vide* pp. 58 and 59.
15. The nature of *āyṭam* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṇār. *Vide* p. 65.
16. A critical examination of Dr. Caldwell's remark that cases in Tamil were arranged in imitation of Sanskrit. *Vide* pp. 222 and 223.

17. That Tolkāppiyaṅār suggests the definitions of *peyar*, *viṅai*, *iṣaiccol* and *uriccol* from their names; the difference in the interpretation of the sūtras Tol. Col. 198, 249 and 297.

*Vide* pp. 142, 195 and 200.

18. New interpretation in the construction of words in the following three types of sentences:—

(i) *namṣi poṅṟeriyāṅ* *Vide* pp. 227 and 228.

(ii) *cākāṭum accu iṟum* *Vide* pp. 22 and 22.

(iii) *aḷattaykariyai aṟivum iṟanum*  
*Vide* pp. 229 and 230.

19. New interpretation of the sūtra Tol. Col. 61 and the word *viṅai* in Tol. Col. 112. *Vide* pp. 228; 142 f.n.

20. Refutation that vowel consonants are not secondary sounds. *Vide* p. 16.

21. How the authors of *Viracōliyam* and *Pērayōkavivēkam* did not view the Tamil grammatical theories through a proper perspective. *Vide* pp. 116; 165 to 167; 194; 204 and 205.

All the important statements and conclusions in this thesis are adequately supported by appropriate illustrations from literature and inscriptions and to some extent from the spoken language. Most of the relevant references are given in foot-notes. I have made an attempt to use the decimal system in the arrangement of topics. I leave it to the readers to see how far this helps to trace the evolution of Tamil language and its grammar.

Tolkāppiyaṅār has not stated much about accent in Tamil. Had it resembled *udātta*, *anudātta*, *svarita*, and *pracaya* as found in Vedic language, he would surely have made mention of them. It seems to me that the later grammarians have smuggled *udātta*, *anudātta*, etc. into the Tamil grammatical system without any real support from the history of Tamil language. The accent that is used at present differs for each group of districts. For instance, in Trichinopoly *vandīṅga* (corrupted form of *vanṭirkaḷ*) receives the accent on the first syllable, but on 'i' in Madras. Hence I have not included accent as one of the topics in this thesis.

My thanks are due to Dr. R. Vaidyanathaswami Aiyar, M.A., D. Sc., Reader in Mathematics, University of Madras for having kindly translated for me into English the articles of Mr. J. Vinson found in Journal Asiatique and to Prof. D. S. Sarma, M.A. of the Presidency College, Madras for having gone through the manuscript and given some suggestions. I am deeply indebted to my Ācārya Mahāmahōpādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Darśanakalānidhi Kulapati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriyar Avl., M.A., I.E.S., for having been very kind to go through this book in the manuscript and the proof stages. I thank the Syndicate of the University of Madras for having permitted me to publish the thesis at my cost and the authorities of the Journal of Oriental Research for having readily relieved me of the burden by undertaking to publish it themselves.

*Tiruvadi.*

27—7—1934.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.



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Name of the Work:	How reference is given:	Abbreviation used.
<b>TAMIL:</b>		
<b>GRAMMAR:</b>		
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<i>Eḷuttatikāram</i> with the commentaries of Ḥampūraṇar (Kaṅṅiyappa Mudaliar Edn.) and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar (Damodaram Pillai Edn.)	Sūtra No.	E.
<i>Collatikāram</i> with the commentaries of—	Do.	Col.
1. Ḥampūraṇar (Coomarasamy Naidu & Sons)	Do.	Ḥam.
2. Cēṇāvaraiyar (Śaiva Siddhānta Publishing Society)	Do.	Cēṇā.
3. Teyvaccilaiyār (Mss. at Tanjore Palace Library)	Do.	Tey.
4. Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar (Damodaram Pillai Edn.)	Do.	Nac.
2. <i>Viracōḷiyam</i> (Damodaram Pillai Edn.)	Stanza No.	V.
Do. <i>Cantiṭṭaḷalam</i>	Do.	VC.
Do. <i>Vērrumaiṭṭaḷalam</i>	Do.	V.V.
Do. <i>Tokaiṭṭaḷalam</i>	Do.	V.T.

\* Sūtras in *Eḷuttatikāram* of *Tolkāṭṭiyam* are here numbered as they are found in *Tolkāṭṭiyam* published in the Journal of Oriental Research and those in *Collatikāram* as they are found in *Cēṇāvaraiyam* and the sūtras in *Nanṇūl* as they are found in Krishnamachariyar's Edition with *Kāṇṭikaiyurai*.

<i>Viracōḷiyam Tattitappaḷalam</i>	Do.	V.Tat.
Do. <i>Tātuḷpaḷalam</i>	Do.	V.Tāt.
Do. <i>Kiriyōḷpaḷalam</i>	Do.	V.K.
3. <i>Nēminōtam</i> (Tamil Sangam Edn.)	Sūtra	N.N.
4. <i>Naṇṇūl</i> with	Do.	Na.
(a) <i>Mayilainātarurai</i> (Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's Edn.)	Do.	Na.M.
(b) <i>Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavarurai</i> (Do. Edn.)	Do.	Na.C.
(c) <i>Kāṇṭikaiyurai</i> (Krishnamachariyar's Edn.)	Do.	Na.K.
5. <i>Pirayōkavivēkam</i> (Ārumukanāvalar Edn.)	Stanza	P.V.
6. <i>Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam</i> (Damodaram Pillai Edn.)	Sūtra	I.V.
7. <i>Ilakkaṇakkottū</i> (Ārumukanāvalar 3rd Edn.)	Stanza	I.K.
8. <i>Toṇṇūlviḷakkam</i>	Sūtra	To.V.
9. <i>Tolkāppiyamutarcūttiravirutti</i> (Ārumukanāvalar 3rd Edn.)	Page	T.M.V.
10. <i>Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūṇṇaḷi</i> (Ārumukanāvalar, 3rd Edn.)		
11. Handbook of Tamil Language by Dr. G. U. Pope	Do.	P.H.T.L.
12. <i>Tolkāppiya-c-collatikāra-kuṇippū</i>		

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##### *Caṅkam Period:*

1. <i>Purāṇḍūrū</i> (Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's 2nd Edn.)	Stanza and line	P.N.
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2. <i>Aiñkurunūru</i> (Do. )	Stanza	Ai.N.
3. <i>Pattuppāṭṭū</i> (Do. )	Page and line	Pattu.
4. <i>Paripāṭal</i> (Do. )	Do.	Pari.
5. <i>Kaliitokai</i> (E. V. Anantarama- Aiyar's Edn.)	Vol. and Do.	Ka.T.
6. <i>Akanāṅṅūru</i> (V. Rajagopala Aiyangar's Edn.)	Page and line	A.N.
7. <i>Kuṅuntokai</i>	Stanza	Ku.T.
8. <i>Kuraḷ</i> (Dr. Pope's Edn.)	Do.	K.
9. <i>Cilappalikāram</i> (Mahāmahō- pādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar's 3rd Edn.)	Page and line	Cilap.
10. <i>Maṇimēkalai</i> (Do.) <i>Medieval Period:</i>	Do.	M.M.
11. <i>Tēvāram</i> (Cuvāmināta Paṅṅi- tar Edn.)	Page and Stanza	T.
12. <i>Nāḷyiralivyaṅṅirapāntam</i> (Krishnamachariyar's 3rd Edn.)		
(a) <i>Periyālvārtirumōḷi</i>	Do.	P.A.T.
(b) <i>Periyatirumōḷi</i>	Do.	P.T.
13. <i>Nāḷaṅṅiṅṅār</i> (V. Rajagopala Aiyangar's Edn.)	Stanza	N.
14. <i>Tiruvācakam</i> (Dr. Pope's Edn.)	Section and line	T. V.
15. <i>Civakacintāmaṅṅi</i> (Mahāmahō- pādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Edn.)	Stanza	C.C.
16. <i>Peruñkatalai</i> Do.	Page and line	P.K.
17. <i>Kallāṅṅam</i>	Page and Stanza	Kal.
18. <i>Kamṅarūmāyayaṅṅam</i>	Do.	Kamṅar.
(a) <i>Pālakāṅṅam</i> (V. M. Gopalakrishnamachariyar's Edn.)	Do.	B.
(b) <i>Ayōḷḷiyākāṅṅam</i> (Do.)	Do.	A.

(c) <i>Āraṇiyakāṇṭam</i> (Kriśhnamachariyar's Edn.)	Do.	Āra.
(d) <i>Kiṭṭintākāṇṭam</i> (Do.)	Do.	K.
(e) <i>Cunlarakāṇṭam</i> (Do.)	Paṭalam and Stanza	C.
(f) <i>Yuttakāṇṭam</i> (Chidambara Mudali Edn.)	Paṭalam and Stanza	Y.
19. <i>Tiruvālavāyutaiyār Tiruvilaiyāṭarṣurāṇam</i> (Mahāmahōpādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar Edn.)	Page and Stanza	T.T.P.
20. <i>Villiputtūrār Pāratam</i> (Subramaniya Kavirayar Edn.)	Do.	V.P.
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21. <i>Kantapurāṇam</i>	Vol. and Stanza	Ka.P.
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27. <i>Civatarumōttiram</i>	Iyal and Stanza	Civa.

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*ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS:*

Sanskrit	Skt.	Manuscript	Mss.
Telugu	Tel.	Century	Cent.
Canarese	Can.	Commentary	Comm.
Malayālam	Mal.	Stanza	S.
Ceyyūḷiyal	Ceyyu.	Page	P.
Singular	Sing.	Line	L.

Plural	Pl.	Number	No.
Modern	Mod.	Foot note	F.n.
Edition	Edn.	<i>Kiñkara-vataiṣ- ṣaṭalam</i>	<i>Kiñkarar.</i>
<i>Tiruvaṭitoḷuta- ṣaṭalam</i>	<i>Tiruvaṭi.</i>	<i>Poruḷatikūram</i>	<i>Poruḷ.</i>
<i>Palaviciṭṭa- kāraṇaviyal</i>	<i>Pala.</i>	Vararuci kārika	Var. kār.



## INTRODUCTION.

It is my idea to present, in this thesis, the important grammatical theories in Tamil Language available from the written works of Tamil Grammarians and modern Tamil scholars in their historical setting and their relation to the Grammatical literature in Sanskrit and to discuss them on their merits and in reference to the evidences that may be collected from literary works and inscriptions.

The Grammarians mentioned in Tamil Language are:—

(1) Agastya with his twelve disciples Tolkāppiyaṅār, Ataṅkōṭṭācāṅ, Turālīṅkaṅ, Cempūcēy, Vaiyāpikaṅ, Vāyppiyaṅ, Paṅampāraṅ, Kalārampaṅ, Avinayaṅ, Kākaipāṭiṅiyaṅ, Narrattaṅ and Vāmaṅ who are said to have lived in the pre-Christian Era.

(2) Iḷampūraṅar otherwise known as Uraiyāciriyaṅar, probably of the 10th century, the earliest known commentator on Tolkāppiyam, the learned treatise on Tamil Grammar written by Tolkāppiyaṅār.

(3) Puttamittiraṅār of the 11th century, the author of Vīracōḷiyam.

(4) Peruntēvaṅār of the 11th or 12th century the commentator on Vīracōḷiyam.

(5) Kuṅavīraṅṅitaṅar of the 13th century, the author of Nēminātam.

(6) Pavaṅanti of the 13th century, the author of Naṅṅūl.

(7) Mayilainātar, probably of the 14th century, the earliest commentator on Naṅṅūl.

(8) Cēṅāvaraiyaṅar, Teyvaccilaiyār and Nacciṅārkkīṅiyaṅar, the well-known commentators on Tolkāppiyam (whose dates are not exactly known).

(9) Cuppīramaṅiya-tiṅcitar of the 17th century, the author of Pirayōkavivēkam.

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(10) Vaittianāta-tēcikar of the 17th century, the author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*.

(11) Cuvāmināta-tēcikar of the 17th century, the author of *Ilakkaṇakkottū*.

(12) Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavar of the 17th century, a commentator on *Naṅṅūl*.

(13) The Rev. C. J. Beschi of the 18th century, the author of *Toṅṅūlviḷakkam*.

(14) Civañāna-muṇivar of the 18th century, the author of *Tolkāppiyamutaṅcūttiravirutti* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūrāvaḷi*.

(15) A few other commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṅṅūl*.

Of them, Agastya and his disciples except *Tolkāppiyaṅār*, *Paṅampāraṅār*, *Ataṅkōṭṭācāṅ* and *Avinayaṅār* are known to us only from stray references found in the works of others. *Paṅampāraṅār* has written the *pāyiram* or the introductory stanza to *Tolkāppiyam*. There, it is mentioned, that *Tolkāppiyam* was written by *Tolkāppiyaṅār* after a careful study of the earlier treatises on Tamil grammar, on the model of *Aindra-Vyākaraṇa*, dealing with the Tamil Language current both in literature and usage from *Tirupati* on the north to *Cape Comorin* on the south; and that it was first read in the court of a *Pāṅṅiyaṅ* king for recognition before the grammarian *Ataṅkōṭṭācāṅ*. *Mayilainātar*, in his commentary on *Naṅṅūl*, mentions that a treatise on Grammar was written by *Avinayaṅār* and it was commented upon by *Irāca-p-pavittira-p-pallavatairaiaṅ*. But neither the treatise nor the commentary is available at present. The earliest treatise on Grammar that is available at present is only *Tolkāppiyam*. The later treatises are *Viracōḷiyam*, *Naṅṅūl*, *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, *Pirayōkavivēkam*, *Ilakkaṇakkottū*, *Toṅṅūlviḷakkam*, *Tolkāppiyamutaṅcūttiravirutti* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūrāvaḷi*.

The author of *Viracōḷiyam* improves upon *Tolkāppiyam* and mentions a few points with reference to the literature of his time which are not found in it. The author of *Naṅṅūl* has incorporated almost all those contained in *Tolkāppiyam* and *Viracōḷiyam* omitting a few, added a few points more and has given



expression to them as concisely as possible. In doing so he has not generally followed the important principle observed by Tolkāppiyaṅār that one sūtra should have only one *vidhēya* or logical predicate with reference to one *uddēśya* or logical subject and this mars the beauty of his work. The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, after making a critical study of Tolkāppiyam and *Naṅṅūl*, has selected sūtras from them both, given most of them as they are found there and modified the rest a little. Hence he may be treated more as a commentator on Tolkāppiyam and *Naṅṅūl* than an author of a separate treatise. *Pirayōkavivēkam* is a treatise by itself where the author imports the technical expressions and theories of Sanskrit Grammar. The author of *Ilakkaṇakkottū* summarises in a few sūtras the ideas contained in the works of his predecessors. Hence he may be taken as an author of a compendium rather than an independent work.

The author of *Toṅṅūlviḷakkam* incorporates most of the sūtras found in *Naṅṅūl*, but modifies them wherever he differs from it. But in commentary on the same he has made very good use of the literature available to him.

Tolkāppiyamutarcūttiravirutti is an elaborate discussion on the first sūtra of *Eluttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam, where the author avails himself of the opportunity to discuss the important views on Phonology and Accidence expressed by Tolkāppiyaṅār, by his commentators *Uraiyāciriyaṅār*, *Cēṅāvaraiyaṅār* and *Nacciṅārkiṅṅiyaṅār*, and the author of *Naṅṅūl*, with the aid of his ripe knowledge both of Tamil and Sanskrit.

*Ilakkaṇaviḷakkaccūṟāvaḷi* is only a criticism on the views of the author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* where he differs from the author of *Naṅṅūl*.

I may also mention here that Tolkāppiyaṅār has worked out a beautiful Tamil Grammar on the models of Sanskrit *Prātiśākhya*s, *Yāska's Nirukta*, *Pāṇini's Śikṣā* and *Pāṇini's Grammar* or that of his predecessors without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil Language. It is also said by *Paṅampāraṅār* that he based his work on *Aindra-Vyākaraṇa*; but tradition says that all the eight treatises on Sanskrit Grammar including *Aindra*

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were ousted by Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The only reference which connects Indra with Sanskrit Grammar is found in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya where it is said that he studied Sanskrit Grammar word by word under Bṛhaspati for 1000 celestial years and was not able to complete it.<sup>1</sup>

There is striking correspondence between Kātantra and Tolkāppiyam in respect of arrangement of topics and use of technical terms such as *vibhakti = vēṟṟumai*, *dīrgha = neṟil*, *hrasva = kuṟil* etc. From this Dr. Burnell<sup>2</sup> seems to infer that Tolkāppiyaṇār followed Kātantra and Prātiśākhya which, according to him, represented the Aindra School, instead of Pāṇini's Grammar and also conjectures that Tolkāppiyam may be assigned to the 8th century after Christ.<sup>3</sup> But from inscriptional and other evidences it is generally believed that the works of Sangam period could not have been produced later than 5th century A. D. and some of them like Puṇaṇṇūru and Paṭiṟruppattū could be taken to the beginning of the Christian Era, and Tolkāppiyam is earlier than all of them. Consistently with this widely prevalent belief, it could hardly be held that Tolkāppiyaṇār had for his model the Kātantra Grammar which is said to belong to the first century after Christ.<sup>4</sup>

An attempt is made in this thesis to show that Tolkāppiyaṇār adapted not only the Sanskrit Grammatical terms and the arrangement, but also *many of the Sanskrit grammatical theories*. For instance, his account of the origin of speech-sounds and the function of case-suffixes is a close reproduction of what is found in old Sanskrit Grammars; while, however, in the treatment of compounds, and the initial and the final sounds of words, he appears to have made certain alterations and adaptations to suit the requirements of Tamil language. On the other hand, the authors of Vīracōliyam and Pirayōkavivēkam have imitated

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1. *Bṛhaspatiḥ Indrāya divyam varṣa-sahasram pratipadoktānām śabdānām śabda-pārāyaṇam prōvāca, nāntam jagāma.*

2. B. A. S. p. 8.

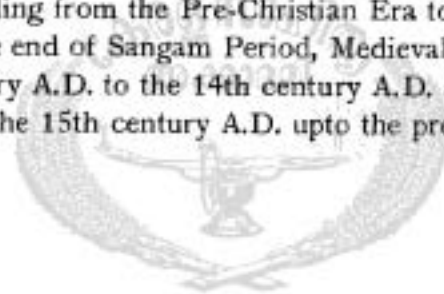
3. B. A. S. p. 55 f.n.

4. B. S. G. p. 83.

Pāṇini's Grammar in declension, conjugation and word-formation to such an extent that they have completely distorted the perspective through which the linguistic phenomena of the Tamil Language should be analysed and evaluated. They have also incorporated in their works a close translation of Vararuci's Kārikās on Sanskrit compounds.

It will also be seen from the following pages that the other grammarians like the authors of Naṅṅūl and Iḷakkaṇaviḷakkam have, in general, followed Tolkāppiyaṅṅār, though, here and there as in the case of accent and *aḷaḷetai*, they agree with the author of Viracōḷiyam.

For the sake of convenience, I have divided, in this work the period from the Pre-Christian Era to the present day into three:—Ancient, Medieval and Modern, Ancient representing the period extending from the Pre-Christian Era to the 5th century A.D. (*i.e.*) the end of Sangam Period, Medieval, the period from the 6th century A.D. to the 14th century A.D. and Modern, the period from the 15th century A.D. upto the present day.





Though Tolkāppiyāṅār has not stated 'h' among Tamil sounds, he has mentioned the chest as one of the organs of speech probably because the air which finally comes out as speech-sound passes through it.

But the other grammarians from ḷampūraṅar downwards have not correctly understood the significance of the mention of chest, neck and head. ḷampūraṅar says in his commentary on the sūtra—

*Melleḷut t-āṅum piyaḥḥi v-ākkum*  
*Colliya ḥaḷḷi nīlaiyiṅa v-āyiṅum*  
*Mūkkiṅ vaḷi-y-icai yāḥḥura-t tōṅṅum.* (Tol. E. 100.)

where it is said that the nasals have for their organ of production, nose also besides their respective organs of production, that the voiceless consonants are produced by *talai-vaḷi* or the air when it passes through the head, and that the semi-vowels are produced by *miḥḥaṅṅu-vaḷi* or the air when it passes through the neck. This statement of his is probably due to the fact that, of the eight organs mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṅār in Tol. E. 83, all but chest, neck and head have been mentioned as organs of production in sūtras 84 to 100. But he does not seem to have noted that *neṅcē* or chest mentioned in Tol. E. 83 is left out.

The author of *Viracōḷiyam* mentions the same eight organs<sup>1</sup> as Tolkāppiyāṅār, but does not say anything as ḷampūraṅar does about the places where *valliṅam*, *melliṅam* and *iḥaiyiṅam* are produced. But his commentator Peruntēvaṅār says that the voiceless consonants are produced at the chest, *āytam* at the head, vowels and semi-vowels at the neck and the nasals at the nose.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Unti-mutal-ēḷuḥ kāyṅṅu-ḥ-piyant-ura muḥ-ciramum*  
*Pantamali-kaṅ ṭamu-mūkkum-ur-ṅ-aṅṅam ḥal-l-ūṅṅē*  
*Muntum-ital-nā moḷi-y-uruppāku mayarci y-iṅ-ūḷ*  
*Vantu-nikalū m-ēḷutteṅṅu-colluzar vāṅṅutalē.* (V. C. 6.)
2. *Ivaṅṅuḷ, urattai valliṅamum, cirattai āytamum, kaṅṅattai*  
*uzirum iḥaiyiṅamum, mūkkai melliṅamum, poruntum-eṅa-k-*  
*kolka.* (V. C. 6, Comm.)

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The author of Naṅṅūl closely follows Peruntēvaṅār in all respects.<sup>1</sup>

The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam improves upon Tol. E. 83 by adding that the sound has emanated from *udāna* which is made to rise by the will of the person.<sup>2</sup> This clearly shows that he has in his mind the Kārikā—

*Ātmā buddhyā sametyūrthhūn mano yuñkte vivakṣayā |*

*Manah kāyōgnim āhanti sa prerayati mārutam ||*

which precedes '*Mārutastūraśi caran* etc.' in Pāṇini's Śikṣā, and agrees with Iḷampūraṅar that *valliṇam* is produced at the head, *melliṇam* at the nose and *iṭaiyiṇam* at the neck<sup>3</sup> and differs from Naṅṅūlār in saying that *āytam* is produced at the chest<sup>4</sup> instead of at the head. This is perhaps due to his having known that the Sanskrit 'h' is produced at the chest when it is in company with any one of the five nasals and semi-vowels; but since *āytam* must invariably be followed by a voiceless consonant, it is more appropriate to say that it is produced in places just near the places of production of the respective voiceless consonants. This point will be dealt with at great length in 1.55.

1. *Niṇai-yuyir muyaṅciyi ṅ-uḷvaḷi turappa*  
*Eḷum-aṅu-t tiraḷ-urañ kaṅṅa m-ucci*  
*Mūkkuṅ ṅ-itaḷ-nā-p pal-l-aṅa-t toḷiliṅ*  
*Vevvē ṅ-eḷuttoli y-āy-varal piṅappē. (Na. 74.)*  
*Aṅvaḷi,*  
*Āvi y-iṭaimai y-iṭa-miṭa ṅ-ākum*  
*Mēvu meṅmai-mūk ku-uram-perum vaṅmai. (Na. 75.)*  
*Āyta-h k-iṭan-talai y-añkū muyaṅci*  
*Cārpeḷut t-ēṅa-v-un tam-muta l-aṅaiya. (Na. 87.)*
2. *Uyir-uḷap putāṅṅai vāta m-ucci*  
*Miṅṅura mūkkuṅ ṅ-itaḷ-nā-p pal-l-aṅa-t*  
*Taṭaintu piṅṅa r-aṅṅatu viṅaiyāṅ*  
*Vēṅu-vē ṅ-eḷuttoli y-āy-varal piṅappē. (I. V. 9.)*
3. *A-v-vaḷi y-āvi y-iṭai-miṭa ṅ-ucci*  
*Vaṅmai meṅmai-mūk k-i-caiyiṅ ṅ-ōṅṅum. (I. V. 10.)*
4. *Āyta-neñ cōcai-yi ṅ-añkūn t-iyaluñ*  
*Cārpeḷut t-ēṅa-v-un tam-muta l-aṅaiya. (I. V. 13.)*

C. J. Beschi follows Naṅṅūlār *in toto*<sup>1</sup>.

From all this it is evident that the Tamil Grammarians with the exception of Tolkāppiyāṅār have not recognised the true distinction between the *ābhyaantara-ṣrayatna* and the *bāhya-ṣrayatna* mentioned by Pāṇini and other Sanskrit Grammarians. They have not also recognised that the classification of vowels, explosives, semi-vowels and fricatives is due to their distinction in *ābhyaantara-ṣrayatna* and that the classification into voiceless and voiced is due to the difference in the condition of the vocal chords and certain concomitant factors which come under *bāhya-ṣrayatna*<sup>2</sup>.

It may be useful to note in this connection that the tension of the vocal chords and the accompanying vibration and musical clang or voice correspond to the *bāhya-ṣrayatnas* of the voiced consonants, viz., *saṃvāra*, *nāda* and *ghōṣa*, while the flaccid condition of the vocal chords and the accompanying non-vibration and breath correspond to the *bāhya-ṣrayatnas* of the voiceless consonants, viz., *vivāra*, *śvāsa* and *aghōṣa*.

At the end of the third section in Eḷuttatikāram, Tolkāppiyāṅār states in two sūtras—

*Ellā v-eḷuttum veḷippaḷa-k kiḷantū*  
*Colliya paḷḷi y-eḷutaru vaḷiyiṟ*  
*Piṟappoṭu viṟuvaḷi y-uraḷcci vāra-t*  
*Takattēlu vaḷi-y-icai y-arizapa nāḷi*  
*Aḷaḷiṟ kōṣa l-antaṅar maṟaittē. (Tol. E. 102.)*  
*Aḷtīva ṅuvalā t-eḷuntu-ṣuṟat t-icaikku*  
*Meyteri vaḷi-y-icai y-aḷavu-nuvaṅ ṟicinē.*

(ibid. 103.)

that the theory of speech-sounds and modifications which sound undergoes within the body may be learnt from the scriptures of

1. T. V. 3. Comm.
2. *Samvṛtē kaṅṭhē nādaḷ kriyatē. (Tai. P. II, 4.)*  
*Vivṛtē śvāsaḷ. (Tai. P. II, 5.)*  
*..Kaṅṭhasya khē vivṛtē samvṛtē vā āpadyatē*  
*śvāsatām nādatām vā. (R. V. P. 13, 1.)*



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the Brahmins and that he has dealt with here only the articulated speech-sounds that come out of the mouth. Here it is evident that he refers to the four phases of speech-sound, *parā*, *paśyanī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* described in Sanskrit Grammar, *parā*, being that phase of the *śabda-brahman*, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at *mūlādhāra* or sacral plexus, *paśyanī* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to Yōgins, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vaikharī* being that phase which is manifested out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following Rk mentioned by Patañjali in the first *āhnika* of his Mahābhāṣya :—

*Catvāri vākparimitā padāni  
Tāni vidur brāhmaṇā yē manuṣyaḥ |  
Guhā trīṇi nihitā nēṅgayanti  
Turīyam vācō manuṣyā vadanti ||*

(M. B. i. 3. 24 and 25.)

Hence the three sūtras, Tol. E. 83, 102 and 103 clearly show that Tolkāppiyāṅār had studied Sanskrit Śikṣā, Prātiśākhya and grammar, and had adopted in his work those points which would suit Tamil Language.

1.2. *Classification*:—Speech-sounds are first classified into primary and secondary in almost all the treatises on Tamil Grammar. They are respectively called *mutal-eḷuttū*<sup>1</sup> and *cār-ḷeḷuttū*<sup>2</sup> by Naṅṅūlār and his successors. The name *cār-ḷeḷuttū* may have been suggested to them by the expression 'cārntu-vaṇṇ maraṇṇil' in the first sūtra in *Eḷuttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam.

1.21. *Primary sounds* : 1.211. *Definition*:—Primary sounds are those which have only one definite place of production in vocal organs for each of them. That this is the idea of

1. *Uyiru m-uṭampum-ā muppatu mutalē*. (Na. 59.)

2. *Uyirmey āytam uyiralaṇṇu oṇṇalaṇṇu*

*A: kiya i-u ai-au ma: kāṇ*

*Taṇi-nilai pattuṇ cār-ḷeḷutt t-ākum*. (Na. 60.)

*Moḷi-k-kā raṇṇam-ā nāta-kā riya-v-oli*

*Eḷuttatu mutal-cār-ḷeḷuttu-iru vakaittē*. (I. V. 3.)



Tolkāppiyānār is inferred from his statement that secondary sounds are found only in the company of primary sounds and cannot have a separate place of production.<sup>1</sup>

1.212. *Number of primary sounds*:—The primary sounds are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyānār, thirty<sup>2</sup> in number consisting of 12 vowels<sup>3</sup> and 18 consonants<sup>4</sup>. The author of Vīracōḷiyam mentions *āyṭam* between vowels and consonants and thence according to him the primary sounds seem to be thirty-one.<sup>5</sup> The author of Nēminātam follows him in this point.<sup>6</sup> But all the other grammarians repeat the opinion of Tolkāppiyānār.

It seems to me that the authors of Vīracōḷiyam and Nēminātam have gone wrong in having included *āyṭam* among primary sounds, since its pronunciation varies according to the consonant that succeeds it. This point will be dealt with at greater length in 1.55.

1.213. *Classification of primary sounds*:—Primary sounds are classified into vowels and consonants, of which the vowels are produced by opening the mouth, which is seen from the

1. *Cārntu varin -allatu tamakkiyal-pila-v-eyā-t*  
*Tērntu-vēḷi-p paṭutta v-ēṇai mūvūru*  
*Tattañ cārpiṇ piṇappoṭu civaṇi*  
*Oṭta kōṭciyir ṭammiyal-piyalun.* (Tol. E. 101.)
2. *Eḷutteṇa-p-paṭuṇa*  
*Akara-mutal*  
*Ṇakara v-iṇuvūy muṇṇa . . . teṇṇa*  
*Cārntu-varaṇ marapiṇ mūṇṇalaṇ kaṭaiyē.* (ibid. 1.)
3. *Aukāra v-iṇuvūy-p*  
*Paṇṇai v-ēḷuttu m-uyir-eyā molipa.* (ibid. 8.)
4. *Ṇakara v-iṇuvūy-p*  
*Paṭiṇṇē ṇ-ēḷuttu mey-y-eyā molipa.* (ibid. 9.)
5. *Arinta-v-ēḷuttam-muṇ paṇṇiṇṇāṇi-ka l-ān-kam-muṇ*  
*Piṇṇanta-paṭiṇṇēṭṭu mey-naṭu-v-āyṭam peyarṭṭiṭai-y-ām*  
*Muṇṇanta-yam-muta l-āyū ināṇaṇa namaṇa-v-eyṇu*  
*Ceyṇṇanta-melliṇṇāṇi ceppāta-valliṇṇan tēmolijē.* (V. C. 1.)
6. *Āvi y-akara-muta l-āṇiṇṇāṇi-āyṭam-iṭai*  
*Mēvūṇi kakara-mutaṇ meykaḷ-ā—mūvūruṇ*  
*Kannu muṇṇaimaiyūṇ kōṭṭiya-muṇ paṭtoru*  
*Nannumutal vaiṇṇāku naṇkū.* (N. N. E. 1.)

expression 'aṅkāntū iyalum' in Tol. E. 85 and *avarṛōraṅṅa* in Tol. E. 86, etc. The vowels and the consonants will be dealt with in detail after secondary sounds are defined and numbered (*i.e.*) in 1.3 and 1.4.

1.22. *Secondary sounds*: 1.221. *Definition* :—Secondary sounds are those which depend for their pronunciation upon the preceding or succeeding consonants. This is evident from Tolkāppiyaṅār's statement 'cārntū variṅ allatū tamakkū iyalpila' in Tol. E. 101.

But Naṅṅūlar does not seem to have understood the full significance of this definition of Tolkāppiyaṅār. He seems to have mistaken *kurṛiyal-ikaram* and *kurṛiyal-ukaram* for 'i' and 'u' shortened to half a *mātrā* each. According to Tolkāppiyaṅār the places of production of *kurṛiyalikaram* and *kurṛiyal-ukaram* are not always the same as those for 'i' and 'u', but change according to the preceding consonant.

Mayilainātar says that *cārpeḷuttū* is that which is other than *mutal-eḷuttū* and which is used along with another sound.<sup>1</sup> An old commentator on Naṅṅūlar says that *cārpeḷuttū* is one which has undergone modification by one part of it combining with another part or by being preceded or succeeded by another sound.<sup>2</sup>

The author of *Ilakkaṅa-ṅaḷakkam* agrees with Mayilainātar.

Caṅkara-namaccivāyar says that *cārpeḷuttū* is that which is used only in combination as vowel-consonant, which comes in company of *mutal-eḷuttū* as *āytam* or *mutal-eḷuttū* modified as the rest. He adds that it may also be defined as a sound found only in words.<sup>3</sup>

Civaṅṅa-muṅivar, on the other hand, agrees with Tolkāppiyaṅār and elaborately criticises in his *Tolkāppiya-mutaṅcūttira-*

1. *Mutaleḷuttū-taṅmai avarṛiṅ-iṅmaiyaḷum, cārpiṅ-ṅaḷuttū-mutal-āḷum ipṅattum cārṅkavē koḷḷavēṅṅum-eypatū.* (Na. 59. M.)

2. *Tammoṅu tāṁ cārntum, iṅam cārntum, paṅṅukkōḷḷū cārntum, viḷarattāl varutaliṅ.* (Na. p. 40- f.n.)

3. *Uyirmey uyirum meyyum kūṅi-ṅa-ṅaḷuttū-āḷum, āytam . . . avarṛ-iṅaiyē cārntu-varutalāḷum ṅaṅaiya tattamutaleḷuttū-ṅaḷuttū*

virutti, the definition given by the commentators of Naṅṅūl and the author of Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam.

1.222. *Number of secondary sounds*:—The secondary sounds are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār, three in number consisting of *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram* (roughly translated as shortened 'i'), *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* (roughly translated as shortened 'u'), and *āytam*<sup>1</sup>, and each of them has half a *mātrā* for its quantity.<sup>2</sup> Iḷampūraṇar mentions under Tol. E. 1, that they are 226 in number consisting of *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* and *āytam*, 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai* and 216 vowel-consonants. According to the author of Viracōliyam they are 11 in number consisting of 7 *aḷapeṭai* (one corresponding to each of 7 long vowels), *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au'.<sup>3</sup> The author of Nēminātam mentions both in his text and commentary 244 secondary sounds consisting of 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, shortened 'ai', shortened 'au'

*vikāyattūṟ piṟattalāṇum cārpeluttāyinaṅvāka-k-koḷka . . .*  
*orumoliyai-c-cārntu varutalē tamakk-ilakkaṇam-ākaṅvūṭaimaiyir*  
*cārpeluttāyina-v-ṅa-k-kōḷalum-ām-eyka.*

(Na. 60. C.)

1. *Avaitām,*  
*Kuṟṟiya l-ikaram kuṟṟiya l-ukaram*  
*Āytam-ṅṟa*  
*Muppūṟ puḷḷiyu m-eḷuttō v-ṅṟa. (Tol. E. 2.)*
2. *Avviya-ṅilaiyu m-ṅṟai mūṅṟē. (ibid. 12.)*
3. *Iṟuti-mey-nīnkiya v-irāṅil-aiṅtu kuṟṟiyēṭil-ēḷ*  
*Peṟuvariyaṅṅeṭu nīrmai-y-aḷapu piṅainta-varkkam*  
*Aṟuvāṟu-valloṟṟu melloṟ ṟum-ām-vaymai mēl-ukaram*  
*Uṟuvatu-naiyum toṭarmoli-p-piṅṅu netiṟ-piṅṅumē. (V. C. 2.)*  
*Akaram-vakaratti ṅṅṅiyaint-avvām yakarattiṅṅṅiṅ*  
*Akaram-iyaintaiya tākum ā ē ṅ viṅā-v-antam-ām*  
*Ekara-okara-mey yiṟ-puḷḷi-mēvum a-i-u-cuttām*  
*Ikarān-kuṟṟuki varuṅ-kuṟṟukaram-piṅ ya-v-variṅṅē. (ibid. 3.)*  
*Kuṟṟeluttōṅṅṅṅ ṟ-arai-y-ākum-ai-au v-iraṅṅunēṭil*  
*Oṟṟeluttāytam i-u-v-arai-mūṅṟoḷa p-ṅṅkuyirmey*  
*Maṅṟeluttōṅṅuyir mātṟirai-y-ṅ-peṟu maṅṅṅukiṅṅa*  
*Oṟṟeluttinṅpin n-uyir-variṅ-ṅṟu m-ōḷi-y-iḷaiyē. (ibid. 5.)*

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216 vowel-consonants (*ka, kã, ki*, etc.), 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 nasals, and the shortened 'y', 'l', 'v', 'ñ' and &¹.

Nagñulâr mentions 369 secondary sounds consisting of 216 vowel-consonants, 8 *muṟṟāytam*, 21 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*. 42 *orṟaḷapeṭai*, 37 *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, 36 *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, 3 shortened 'ai', 1 shortened 'au', 3 shortened 'm' and 2 shortened *āytam*.<sup>2</sup> He explains them thus :—Since there are 12 vowels and 18 consonants, the number of vowel-consonants is  $18 \times 12 = 216$ .<sup>3</sup> Since there are 6 voiceless consonants which can follow *āytam*, since *āytam* is substituted in sandhi for consonants as in *av + kaṭiya = aḷkaṭiya* and since it is inserted in certain words for the sake of metre as in *ceyvaḷtū* (for *ceyvātū*), the number of *muṟṟāytam* is  $6 + 2 = 8$ .<sup>4</sup> Since *aḷapeṭai* can come at the beginning, the middle and the end of words and since there are seven long vowels, the number of *uyir-aḷapeṭai* is  $7 \times 3 = 21$ .<sup>5</sup>

1. *Ōñkuyirka ḷorriṇṇē ḷēṟi y-uyirmey-y-āy*  
*Āñkiru nūṟṟorupat tārūkum—pāñkuṭaiya*  
*Valloṟṟu melloṟṟu varkka m-aḷapeṭaikal*  
*Colloṟṟi niṭṭa-t takum. (N. N. E. 3.)*  
*Toṭarṇeṭiṭ kīḷ-vaṇmai māl-ukaram ya-p-ṟiy*  
*Paṭaiya varum-ikar m-aṇṇi—maṭa-nallāy*  
*Mummai-y-iṭat t-ai-y-au-v-uñ kuṟṟumuy ṟoṟṟuṇṇēḷ*  
*Cemmai-y-uyi r-ēṟuñ ceṟintū. (ibid. 4.)*
2. *Uyirmey y-iraṭṭu-nūṟ ṟeṭṭuza r-āytam*  
*Eṭṭuyi r-aḷapeḷu mūṇṟoṟ r-aḷapeṭai*  
*Āṟē ḷa ∴ ku m-immup paṇṇēḷ*  
*Ukara m-āṟē ṟ-aikūṇ mūṇṟē*  
*Aukā ṟ-oṇṟē ma ∴ kāṇ mūṇṟē*  
*Āyta m-iraṇṇoṭu cārpeḷut t-uyy-viri*  
*Oṇṟoḷi muṇṇūṟ ṟeḷupā ṟ-eṇpa. (Na. 61.)*
3. *Puḷḷi-vēḷ ḷv-v-oṭu muṇṇ-y-uru v-āki-y-um*  
*Ēṇai y-uyir ḷ ṭuruvu tirintum*  
*Uyir-aḷa vāy-ataṇ vaṭivoḷit tiruvayin*  
*Peṟaroṭu m-orṟu-muṇ ṟ-āy-varu m-uyirmey. (ibid. 89.)*
4. *Kuyiyataṇ muṇṇa r-āyta-p-puḷḷi*  
*Uyiroṭu puṇarnta-val ḷāṟaṇ micaiṭṭē. (ibid. 90.)*
5. *Icāi-keṭiṇṇ mōḷi-muta ḷ-iṭai-kaṭai nilai-ṇeḷil*  
*Aḷapeḷu m-avaṟṟavaṟ ṟ-iṇṇa-k-kuṟiḷ kuṟi-y-ā. (ibid. 91.)*

Since the 11 sounds *ñ, ñ, ñ, n, m, y, l, v, l* and *ã* can come as *oṛṛaḷapeṭai* after one short vowel or two short vowels, in the middle of words in the case of all and at the end in the case of all except *ã*, the number of *oṛṛaḷapeṭai* is  $11 \times 4 - 2 = 42^1$ . Since *kuṛṛiyal-ikaram* takes the place of *kuṛṛiyal-ukaram* when the latter is followed by 'y' in sandhi and there are 36 *kuṛṛiyal-ukaram* and the 'i' in the particle '*miyā*' in such words as *kēṇmiyā* is *kuṛṛiyal-ikaram*, its number is  $36 + 1 = 37^2$ . Since *kuṛṛiyal-ukaram* may be preceded by one of the 7 long vowels alone, two or more vowels except 'au' (which are therefore 11 in number), *āyṭam*, 6 voiceless consonants, 6 nasals and all semi-vowels except 'v' (which are therefore 5 in number), its number is  $7 + 11 + 1 + 6 + 6 + 5 = 36^3$ . Since *aikāra-k-kuṛukkam* may be found at the beginning, the middle and the end of words, its number is 3<sup>4</sup>. Since *aukāra-k-kuṛukkam* can be had only at the beginning of words, its number is only 1<sup>5</sup>. Since *makāra-k-kuṛukkam* can be had after *ṅ* and *ṇ* and before *v*, as in *maruṅṇ*, *ṇōṇṇ*, *taruṇ-vaḷavaṇ*, its number is 3<sup>6</sup>. Since *āyṭam* may be substituted for *l* or *l̥* in sandhi, as in *al + tiṇai = aḷṇai* and *mul + tītū = muḷṇitū* and its *mātrā* is  $\frac{1}{2}$  (according to him), the number of *āyṭa-k-kuṛukkam* is 2<sup>7</sup>.

Nacciṅārkkīṇiyar repeats under Tol. E. 1 the opinion of ḷampūraṇar.

The author of *Ilakkaṇa-ṇiḷakkam* mentions that the secondary sounds are 240 in number consisting of *kuṛṛiyal-ikaram*, *kuṛṛiyal-*

1. *Nā-ñā-ṇā na-ma-ṇā va-ya-la-ḷa v-āyṭam*  
*Aḷapḷāṇ kuṛil-iṇai kuṛiṇ-kīl-iṭai-koṭai*  
*Mikaḷē yavarṇiṇ kuṛi-yām vēṇē.* (Ibid. 92.)
2. *Yakaram vara-k-kuṛa ḷ-u-t tiri y-ikaramum*  
*Acai-c-col miyū v-i ṇ-ikaram-uṇ kuṛiya.* (Ibid. 93.)
3. *Neṭiḷō ṭ-āyṭa m-uṇir-vaḷi meli-y-iṭai*  
*Toṭar-moḷi y-iṭuti vaṇmai-y-ū r-ukaram*  
*A-ḷ-kum piṇamēl toṭara-v-um peṇum-ē.* (Ibid. 94.)
- + & 5. *Tay-cuṭ ṭ-aḷapḷi y-ai-m-wū vaḷi-y-um*  
*Nai-y-u m-au-v-u mutal-aṇ ṇū-kum.* (Ibid. 95.)
6. *Nā-ṇā-muṇṇum va-ḷ-kāṇ micaiyu-ma-k kuṛukum.* (Ibid. 96.)
7. *La-ḷa-v-iṇ ṇ-iyaṇiṇṇā m-āyṭa m-a-ḷ-kum.* (Ibid. 97.)

*ukaram*, *āytam*, 216 *uyirmey*, 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, 11 *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*, shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au' and *makara-k-kurukkam* and condemns Naṅṅūlar and says that *āytam* never reduces itself to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a *mātrā*, and that other sounds like *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, etc., except *uyir-mey* remain the same, whether they stand at the beginning, the middle or the end of words and that therefore the number 369 mentioned by Naṅṅūlar cannot stand<sup>1</sup>.

Civañña-muṇivar, on the other hand, says that there is no purpose served by taking *uyirmey* as *cārpeḷuttū*, that *uyiraḷapeṭai* is only a short vowel added to the previous long vowel to lengthen its *mātrā*, that *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* is only a consonant that is added for the sake of lengthening the *mātrā*, and shortened 'ai' shortened 'au' and *makara-k-kurukkam* are produced at the same part of the vocal organs as 'ai', 'au' and 'm' respectively, but vary only in their quantity. Besides one cannot say that *kurṟiyal-ikaram* and *kurṟiyal-ukaram* are shortened 'i' and shortened 'u' in the same way as shortened 'ai' and shortened 'au'. For, had it been the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṇār, he would have designated them as *kurṟikaram* and *kurṟukaram* and not as *kurṟiyal-ikaram* and *kurṟiyal-ukaram*, and would not have indicated a separate symbol for them as he now does in Tol. E. 2.<sup>2</sup>

I totally agree with Civañña-muṇivar. I may add that the definition given to *cārpeḷuttū* by the commentators on Naṅṅūlar to include vowel-consonants does not at all hold good. (Cf. 1.221. *supra*.) They say 'tammōṭṭū tām cārniatū'. In the vowel-consonant 'ka', we may say that 'k' is in the company

1. *Āyata-k-kurukkam-oṟṟu iṟṟeyacum... uyirmey-y-olittū ṅṅaiya-v-ellām itavēṟṟumaiyāy-ayṟi eḷuttu-vēṟṟumaiyāy aṅṅaṅam palkūmaiyyi cārpeḷuttū munnūṟṟarupattoṅpatām eṅṟal nirampātū.*

2. *Iṟi immūṅṟumē-y-ayṟi uyirmey mutaliyavaṟṟaiyūñ cārpeḷuttēṅṟarum uḷarālō v-eyiṅ;—... uyir-mey eṅṟataṅṟai... oṟṟumai-nayam-ṟayṟi oṟṟū eṅṟataṅṟāl oru payaṅ-iṅmaiyaṅṟum... aḷapeṭai cārpeḷutteṅṟa vēṟākūmai muṅṅar-k-kūṟṟappattatūkalāṅṟum, aikāra-k-kurukka mutaliyaṅṟa... vēṟeḷuttēṅṟa-ṟ-patū-v-ākalāṅṟum vaṟaṅṟūlarum... uyir-mey, uyir-aḷapeṭai, aikāra-k-kurukkam mutaliya eḷuttukkaḷai-c-eyitū tirintamai-ṟayṟi vēṟeḷutteṅṟa yāṅṟūñ coḷḷamaiyāyṅṟum atu poruntātū eṅṟa maṟukka. (T. M. V. 29—30).*



of 'a' or 'ā' is in the company of 'k'. Hence either of the two may be said to be *cārpeḷuttū* with respect to the other. How can the whole be called *cārpeḷuttū*? Besides it may be noted here that in many places the sounds 'ka', 'ca', 'ḷa', etc. are used to represent only the consonantal sound 'k', 'c', 'ḷ', etc. to enable the hearer to understand what consonant is pronounced and Tolkāppiyaṇār himself says so in the sūtra *Meysi ṇ-iyakka m-akaramoḷi civaṇum*. E. 46. He has also used the symbols 'ka' (ḷ), 'ca' (ḷ), etc. to represent 'k' (ḷ), 'c' (ḷ), etc.<sup>1</sup>; besides for the purpose of representing the sounds 'kā', 'ki', 'kī', etc., the symbols denoting 'ā', 'ī', 'ī' etc. are added to the symbol denoting 'ka' and not to the symbol denoting 'k'. These three points, it seems to me, may have led the author of Nēminātam, Naṇṇūlār and others to mistake *uyirmey* for a unitary sound. As regards *aḷapeḷai* and shortened 'ai' Tolkāppiyaṇār himself has mentioned them in the sūtras,

*Māvaḷa p-icaitta l-ōr-eḷut t-iṇṇē*. (Tol. E. 5.)  
*Niṭṭam vēṇṇi ṇ-a-v-v-aḷa p-uḷaiya*  
*Kūṭṭi y-eḷūta l-eṇṇaṇṇār pūlovar*. (ibid. 6.)

and

*Ōr-aḷa p-āku m-iḷaṇṇamā r-uṇṇē*  
*Tēruṇ kālai moḷi-vayi ṇ-āṇa*. (ibid. 57.)

but has not included them among secondary sounds.

1.223. *Classification of secondary sounds*:—The secondary sounds are not classified by Tolkāppiyaṇār either as vowels or as consonants, or as neither. But according to Naṇṇūlār and the later grammarians except Civaṇṇa-muṇivar they may be classified into vowel secondary sounds, consonant secondary sounds and secondary sounds that are neither. This point will be dealt with at greater length in 1.348, 1.3481, 1.3482, 1.3483, 1.3484, 1.47 & 1.5.

1. Cf. *Valleḷut t-eṇṇa ka-ca-ḷa ta-pa-ṇa*. (Tol. E. 19.)  
*Melleḷut t-eṇṇa ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa*. (Ibid. 20.)  
*ḷai-y-eḷut t-eṇṇa ya-ra-la va-ḷa-ḷa*. (Ibid. 21.)

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### 1.3. VOWELS: 1.31. CLASSIFICATION.

1.311. *Ancient period*:—(Tolkāppiyaṅār says that) there are 12 vowels from 'a' to 'au' which may be classified thus:

Primary vowels:  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Simple vowels: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Short: } a, i, u, e \text{ \& } o \\ \text{Long: } \bar{a}, \bar{i}, \bar{u}, \bar{e} \text{ \& } \bar{o} \end{array} \right. \\ \text{Diphthongs}^1 \qquad \qquad \qquad ai \text{ and } au \end{array} \right.$

Secondary vowels;  $\dot{i}$  (shortened i) and  $\dot{u}$  (shortened u).<sup>2</sup>

1.312. *Medieval period*:—The primary vowels are the same as those in the ancient period; but the secondary vowels are 'i', 'u', 'ai' (shortened ai) and 'au' (shortened au) and *uyiraḷa-ḷeṭtai, āa, ii, ūu, ēe, aii, ōo* and *auu*.

1.313. *Modern period*:—According to Ilakkaṇa-ṭṭaḷakkam and Toṇṇūl-ṭṭaḷakkam the primary vowels are the same as those of the ancient period and the secondary ones as those of the medieval period; but according to Civañāṇa-muṇivar's Tolkāppiya-mutaṛ-cūttira-virutti both the primary and the secondary vowels are the same as those of the ancient period.

*N.B.*—The parallelism between

'*Aukāra v-iṅuvāy-ḷ paṅṅūṛ-ḷuttum*  
*uyir-eyā molīḷa*'. (Tol. E. 8.)

and

'*Akārādyāḷ svarā jūcēyāḷ*  
*aukārāntāḷ caturdaśa*'. (B. N. p. 170, 8.)

is worth noting; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of Nāṭya Śāstra is anterior or posterior to Tolkāppiyam.

1. He does not mention the name diphthongs, but suggests it in the sūtras

*Akara ikara m-aikāra m-ākuṁ.* (Tol. E. 54.)

*Akara ukara m-aukāra m-ūkuṁ.* (Ibid. 55.)

2. He does not mention 'i' and 'u' as vowels, though, for practical purposes, they may be taken as such.



1.32. *Quantity of vowels*:—Short vowels have one *mātrā*,<sup>1</sup> long vowels and diphthongs two<sup>2</sup> and secondary vowels half<sup>3</sup>. The shortened 'ai' and the shortened 'au' have one *mātrā* according to Tolkāppiyānār<sup>4</sup> and one and a half according to Peruntēvaṅār<sup>5</sup> and Kuṇavīra-panṭitar<sup>6</sup>; but only one *mātrā* according to Naṅṅūlar<sup>7</sup> and the later grammarians.<sup>8</sup>

1.33. *Quality of vowels*:—All vowels are open sounds, as is seen from the statement 'aṅkūṭiyalum' in the sūtra

'Avaṅṅuḷ

A ā ū-y-iraṅ ṭ-aṅkūṭiyalum' (Tol. E. 86) and

'avaṅṅōraṅṅa' in the sūtra,

I-ī e-ē ai-y-eya v-icaikkum

A-ṭ-ṭā l-aintu m-avaṅṅō r-aṅṅa.

Avaitān,

Aṅ-pan mutanū vilimṭ-uṟa l-uṭaiya.' (ibid. 86.)

and 'itaḷkuvintiyalum' in the sūtra

1. *Avaṅṅuḷ*  
*A i u*  
*E o eṅṅu m-aṭṭō l-aintum*  
*Ōraḷa ṭ-icaikkum kuṟṟeḷut t-eṅṅa.* (Tol. E. 3.)
2. *Ā ī ū*  
*Ē ai*  
*Ō au eṅṅu m-aṭṭō l-ēlum*  
*Īraḷa ṭ-icaikku neṭṭeḷut t-eṅṅa.* (Ibid. 4.)
3. *Aviya vilaiyu m-ēṅai mūṅṟē.* (Ibid. 12.)
4. *Ōraḷa ṭāku m-iṭṅum-ō r-uṅṭē*  
*Tēruṅ kūlai molivayi ṅ-ōṅṅa.* (Ibid. 57.)
5. *Aikāra aukāra-k kuṟṟukkaṅkaḷ eṅṅarai*  
*māttirai peyum.* (V. C. 5 Comm.)
6. *Kuriṅṅetilka ṭ-eṅṅirāṅṅu....*  
.....  
.....  
*Ai-y-au v-aḷai eṅ ṟarai.* (N. N. E. 5.)
7. *Mūṅṟu uyiraḷapu iraṅṅām neṭṭil eṅṅē*  
*Kuṟṟiḷṭu ai au-k kuṟṟukkam oṟṟoḷapu*  
.....(Na. 99.)
8. *Neṭṭil-iraṅ ṭai-y-au-k kuṟṟukkan kuṟṟi-eṅṅu*  
.....(I. V. 24.)

*U-ū o-ō au-v-eṅa v-icaiikkum*

*A-p-pū l-aintu m-italkuvin t-iyalum.* (ibid. 87.)

All the later grammarians agree with Tolkāppiyāṅār in this point.

*A* and *ā* are guttural vowels<sup>1</sup> *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē* and *ai* are palatal<sup>2</sup> and *u*, *ū*, *o*, *ō* and *au* are labial.<sup>3</sup> The minute distinction as regards the place of production of *i* or *ī*, *e* or *ē* and *ai*, and of *u* or *ū*, *o* or *ō* and *au* is not clearly expressed, but it is mentioned that their distinction is only small.<sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup> The places of production of *i* and *ū* are modified, according to Tolkāppiyam, by the consonant in whose company they are.<sup>6</sup> It seems to me that it is the consonant that precedes them that modifies their places of production; for instance in the words *nākkīyātū* (*nākkū* + *yātū*) and *tappīyātū* (*tappū* + *yātū*), *i* is respectively guttural and labial. Similarly in the words *nākkū*, *taccū*, *kaffū*, *mattū* and *tappū* ' *ū* ' is respectively guttural, palatal, alveolar or cerebral, dental and

1. *Avaṟṟuḷ*

*A ā āyiraṅ ṅ-aiṅkūn tiyalum.* (Tol. E. 85.)

2. *Ī ē ai-y-eṅa v-icaiikkum*

*Appū l-aintu m-avaṟṟō r-aṅṅa*

*Avaitām*

*Aṅṅaṅ mutāṅṅā viḷimpura l-uṅaiya.* (Ibid. 86.)

3. *U ū o ō au-v-eṅa v-icaiikkum*

*Appū l-aintu m-italkuvin t-iyalum.* (Ibid. 87.)

4. *Tattan tiripē ciṅiya v-eṅṅa* (Ibid. 88.)

5. This is perhaps after the model of Prāṭisākhya. For instance in Śaunakaprāṭisākhya it is said that *e*, 2nd *varga*, *i* & *ī*, *ai*, *y* & *ś* are palatals. Cf. *Tālavyaṅkūra cakāravargā vikārāikārāuyakārah śakārah* (R. V. P. i, 19). Similarly *u*, *ū*, *ō*, *āu*, 5th *varga*, *v* & *upadhmaniya* are said as labials. (Cf. R. V. P. I. 20.)

6. *Cārntu-vari ṅ-allatu tamakkiyal pila-v-eṅa-t*

*Tērntu-veḷi p paṭutta v-ēṅai mūṅṅum*

*Tattañ cārpiṅ piṅappoṭu civaṅi*

*Otta kūtciyir ṅam-m-iyal p-iyalum.* (Tol. E. 101.)

labial. But the authors of *Naṅṅūl* and *Ilakkaṇa-ṣiḷakkam*<sup>1</sup> say that they (*i* and *u*) respectively agree with 'i' and 'u' in the place of production. *Civañāṇa-muṇivar* on the other hand agrees with *Tolkāppiyaṇār*<sup>2</sup> and he seems to be correct.

1.34. *Treatment of each vowel sound.*

1.341. 'A': 1.3411. Dr. Caldwell says in p. 133 "In Tamil 'a' is the heaviest of all the simple vowels and therefore the most liable to change. It evinces a tendency to be weakened into 'e' (Cf. Skt. *balam*—strength, with Tamil *belam*: Skt. *jaṣa*—prayer, with Tamil *ṣebam*. See also the pronoun of the first person)".

It seems that the change of 'a' to 'e' in the above *tadbhava* words is not due so much to the heaviness of 'a' as to the peculiar way in which 'g', 'j', 'ḍ', 'd' and 'b', the third plosive consonant of each *varga* in Sanskrit is pronounced. They are pronounced as 'gʒ', 'jʒ', 'ḍʒ', 'dʒ' and 'bʒ'. When the Tamilians first learnt these sounds which were new to them, they had a tendency to write *belam* for *balam* though later on they began to adopt both the forms *ṣalay* and *ṣelay*. This may be clearly seen from the following table:

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Gaṅgātīra</i>	<i>keṅkātīram</i> <sup>3</sup>
<i>Garuḍa</i>	<i>keluḷaṅḍ</i> <sup>4</sup>
<i>Gatāyus</i>	<i>ketāyu</i> <sup>5</sup>

- .....  
*Cārpeḷut tēṇavun tammuta l-aṅṅaiya.* (Na. 87.)  
*Cārpeḷut tēṇavun tam-muta l-aṅṅaiya.* (I. V. 13.)
- Ṣamum ṣaṅṅukḥḍṭum kuṅṅiyal-iḥarak kuṅṅiyal-uḥaraiṅkaṅṅiṅṅ*  
*aṅku-c cārpeṅṅavē-y-aṅṅi-k kuṅṅiyicaittaṅku-k kūraṅṅamākū-*  
*eṅṅakkoḷka.* (T. M. V. p. 28.)
- Keṅkātīrattu-t-tēcam.* (P. K. 33, 220.)  
(The country on the banks of the Ganges.)
- Keluḷaṅḍ nanta ṅeṅṅḍ.* (C. C. 1926.)  
(Whether Nanda is Garuḍa.)
- Camar purintavaṅ-ṅāyum ketāyu v-āyiyāy.* (V. P. 405, 37.)  
(Even he who engaged himself in battle lost his life.)

## 22 HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Gaja</i>	<i>kecam</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>Japa</i>	<i>ceṣam</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>Bahuvrīhi</i>	<i>vekuviriyam</i> <sup>3</sup> .

But at the same time they use the same sounds without change also.

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Gagana</i>	<i>kakayam</i> <sup>4</sup>
<i>Gaṅgā</i>	<i>kaṅkai</i> <sup>5</sup>
<i>Gaja</i>	<i>kacam</i> <sup>6</sup> .

The same change does not generally take place when 'a' is preceded in Sanskrit by *kh* or *gh*, *ch* or *jh*, *dh*, *ph* or *bh*.

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Khadyōta</i>	<i>kaccōtam</i> <sup>7</sup>
<i>Ghaṭa</i>	<i>kaṭam</i> <sup>8</sup>
<i>Chala</i>	<i>calam</i> <sup>9</sup>
<i>Jhaṭiti</i>	<i>caṭiti</i> <sup>10</sup>

1. *Keca turaka mutalūṅga caturāṅkam.* (Tā. 33, 6.)  
(The four limbs consisting of elephants, horses, etc.)
2. *Cepan-tavan-tūyam.* (C. P. 319, 2.)  
(Meditation, penance and gifts.)
3. *Vekuviriyam.* (Pi. 24.)  
(Possessive compound.)
4. *Kakaya-vāṅarkaḷ* (Ka. P. i. 493, 13.)  
(Residents of celestial regions.)
5. *Kaṅkai kaṅkai y-eyya vācakattūḷ.* (P. A. T. 80, 1.)  
(With the words of the Ganges, the Ganges.)
6. *Kaca-rata-turaka-mā-k-kaṭal.* (Kampar, B. 149, 22.)  
(The vast sea of elephants, chariots and horses.)
7. *Kaccōtam eṅṅū karuti.* (Ka. P. i. 569, 43.)  
(Having taken it to be glow-worm.)
8. *Kaṭamunṅi-cēṅaiṭṭum.* (Ka. P. i. 133, 65.)  
(With the arrival of the pot-sage Agastya.)
9. *Chala-p-paṭaiyūṅ iraviṅ ṟūkkiyat-ellām.* (Pari. 43, 57.)  
(All the on-slaughts of the Indian Cupid at nights.)
10. *Caṭiti viḷntū.* (C. P. 84, 20.)  
(Having fallen soon.)

Sanskrit	Tamil
<i>Dharaṇi</i>	<i>tarāṇi</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>Phala</i>	<i>paḷam</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>Bhaya</i>	<i>ḥayam</i> <sup>3</sup> .

Hence we may safely infer that 'a' generally changes to 'e' when it is preceded by the third consonant of each varga and not by the second or the fourth. Besides such a change is not seen in pure Tamil words.

1,3412. Dr. Caldwell further observes that "'a' has almost entirely disappeared from the end of nouns in Tamil and has been succeeded by 'u' or 'ei'. Where final 'a' changes into 'ei' in Tamil, it generally changes into 'e' in Canarese.... In Telugu and especially in Malayāḷam, this vowel is less subject to changes".

No doubt the nouns that end in 'a' in Tamil are rare. The few cases where they end in 'a' are *palla*, *paḷa*, *cila*, *uḷḷa*, *illa*, etc.<sup>4</sup> But whether the 'a' that stood at the end of words was changed to 'u' or 'ei' deserves careful examination. Because Telugu and Malayāḷam have 'a' at the end where Tamil has 'ai' and Canarese 'e', as is seen from the following table, he seems to conclude that 'a' was the final sound at the end of such words in the parent Dravidian Language.

Tamil	Telugu	Malayāḷam	Canarese
<i>kaṭai</i>	<i>kaḍa</i>	<i>kaḍa</i>	<i>kaḍe</i>
<i>karai</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>kare</i>
<i>kaḷai</i>		<i>kaḷa</i>	<i>kaḷe</i>
<i>kaṛai</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>kaṛa</i>	<i>kaṛe</i>

1. *Taraṇi-mēy ṛilakam-aṇṇūy.* (C. C. 1178.)

(You are like a *tilka* on earth.)

2. *Pala-v-iṅ paḷam.* (P. N. 109, 5.)

(Jack-fruit)

3. *Paṇṇiḍṇi cellu.* (T. T. P. 206, 21.)

(To go with fear.)

4. *Cl. Palla paḷa-cila v-eṇṇum peyarum*

*Uḷḷa v-illa v-eṇṇum peyarum*

.....(Tol. Col. 168.)

But considering the statement of Dr. Caldwell, that "Tamil being probably the earliest cultivated of all the Dravidian idioms, the most copious, and that which contains the largest portion and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms, it is deservedly placed at the head of the list" (C. D. G. p. 6.), and considering the fact that words ending in 'ai' are found in Tolkāppiyam (Cf. *avai-y-ivai y-eya varūm peyarum...* Tol. Col. 167) and that it is more natural for 'ai' to be lightened to 'e' (as is found even now in spoken Tamil *yānai* as *yāne*, *karai* as *kare*, etc.) and later to 'a' as Tolkāppiyaṅār says that 'ai' may be changed to 'ay', the 'y' of which may afterwards be dropped, is it not more reasonable to assume that the parent Dravidian language had 'ai' at the end of such words instead of 'a'? But in the medieval period 'a' before the palatal explosives 'c' and 'ṅ' and semi-vowel 'y' in the middle of words had a tendency to change to 'ai' mostly in literary works perhaps by the influence of prosody. Cf. *araiçay* for *aracay* in *kali-araiṣay* (Ep. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. VII, V. G. line 90), *maiñcu* for *mañcu*, *maiya* for *mayal*, etc.<sup>2</sup>. Then through analogy 'ai' was substituted for 'a' even before non-palatal sounds. Cf. *paḷaimai*, *iḷaimai*, for *paḷamai* and *iḷamai* respectively. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement that 'a' is most liable to change may apply to a certain extent only in the medieval period and in the modern period. Cf. *caritai* for Skt. *carita*.

1.3413. Besides it may be interesting to note that the Tamil pronunciation of 'a' may have influenced the South Indians to pronounce the Sanskrit 'a' at the end of words like *paśya*, *vada*, *gaccha*, etc. as an open vowel though it is a close one according to P. A. 8.4.68 and M.B.i.15.14 and it is still pronounced in North India as such.

1.3411. 'Ā' : 1.34111. The statement of Dr. Caldwell that 'ā' is formed in Tamil by the coalescence of two short

1. *Akara-t t-impar yakara-p puḷḷiyum*  
*Ai-ye yeṭuñ-ciṅṅai mey-para-t iḍṅṅum.* (Tol. E. 56.)
2. *A ai mutal-iṅṅai y-okkuñ ca-ñā-yu-muṅ.* (Na. 123.)

*a's*<sup>1</sup> is quite against the genius of the Tamil language. This is one of the points where Tamil differs generally from Sanskrit. If two short *a's* come together in Tamil as *pala + aṅam*, an inter-vocalic 'v' is generally inserted between them as *pala-v-aṅam* and they can never coalesce into 'ā'.

1.34112. Again he says that 'ā' becomes poetically 'ō'<sup>2</sup>. This existed even in the ancient period and is supported by *Tolkāppiyam*<sup>3</sup>. But he says that *viṅṅavar* becomes *viṅṅōr*. This need not be. A personal noun *viṅṅār* may be formed by adding the plural suffix 'ār'<sup>4</sup> to the noun *viṅ* and 'ō' may be substituted for 'ā'<sup>5</sup> in the same way as the final 'a' in Sanskrit is pronounced as 'o' by Bengalis at the present day. Cf. *villōy* for *villāy* and *nallōr* for *nallār* in the stanza.

*villōy kālaṅa kaḷalē...nallōr yār kol-aḷiyar tāmē.* (Ku. T. 7.)

1.34113. He then says that final 'ā' of Sanskrit feminine abstracts becomes 'ai' in Tamil. This may be accepted as a general rule though modern writers do not strictly adhere to it.<sup>6</sup>

1.342. 'I'. This is inserted when Sanskrit words having conjunct consonants, one of which is generally 'y', 'r' or 'l', are Tamilised. Cf. *ḥattiyam*, *ilakkiyam*, *vāttiyam* *ḥattiram*, *cukkīlam* for Skt. *ḥathya*, *lakṣya*, *vādya*, *ḥatra* and *śukla*<sup>7</sup>. In ancient period this is substituted for a final 'y'. Cf. *nāi* (नै) for *nāy*<sup>8</sup>.

1. & 2. C. D. G. 133.

3. *Ā-v-ō v-ākum peyarum-ō r-uḷavō*  
*Ā-y-iṅa ḥ-aḷital ceyyul {-uḷḷō.* (Tol. Col. 195.)

4. *Ar ār ḥa-eṅa varū mūḥḥum*  
*Pallōr maruṅkiḥ ḥaḥarḥkai-c collō.* (Ibid. 206.)

5. *Pāl-aḷi maraḥi ḥ-animū v-iḥḥum*  
*Ā-v-ō v-ākūṅ ceyyu {-uḷḷō.* (Ibid. 211.)

6. Cf. *anukampam* for Skt. *anukampā* in 'anukampam...uḷai  
*yarō ciḥantār.* (Civa. pala. 39.)

(Great are they who have compassion.)

7. *Kūḷḷuttinḥ-piṅ ya-ra-la-k-kaḷōṅḥriḥiḥ kūḷḷiḥaiyō*  
*ōḷḷuttāka-ḥ peḥum-or-ikāram...* (V. Tat. 8.)

8. *Ikara yakara m-iḥuti viravum.* (Tol. E. 58.)



1.3421. 'I'. The final 'i' in *nī* is shortened when case-suffixes are added to it<sup>1</sup>.

1.343. 'U'. Dr. Caldwell says that "u is of all vowels the weakest and lightest and is largely used especially at the end of words for euphonic purposes or as a help to enunciation. The Tamil rule with regard to the addition of 'u' to words which end in a consonant is that in words which end in any hard or surd consonant, viz., *k*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *t* or *p*, or in the hard rough *ṛ* which is peculiar to these languages, the hard consonant shall be followed by 'u' in consequence of its being impossible for Tamilian organs of speech to pronounce those letters without the help of a succeeding vowel. In most instances this enunciative 'u' is not merely short but so very short that its quantity is determined by grammarians to be equal only to a fourth of the quantity of a long vowel.... It often happens (though it is not an invariable rule) that the final surd to which enunciative 'u' has been appended, is doubled apparently for the purpose of furnishing a fulcrum for the support of the appended vowel. Thus the Sanskrit *vāk* becomes *vākku*. The rule is further extended in Tamil so as to apply to the final consonants of syllables as well as to those of words. If a syllable, though in the middle of a word, terminates in one of the hard consonants above mentioned and if the initial consonant of the succeeding syllable is one which cannot be assimilated to it, the final consonant is doubled and 'u' is affixed. Thus Skt. *advaita* becomes in Tamil *attuvaida*'.

Here three points are to be noted:—(1) The rule stated above holds good only in the case of *tadbhava* words (*i.e.*) words tamilised from Sanskrit; for no pure Tamil word can have according to the Tamil grammarians, *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* or *ṛ* as the final member<sup>2</sup>. (2) The 'u' that is added at the end of such words

1. *Nī-y-e ṅ-oru-peyar neṭu-mutal kuṟukum*  
*Āvayi ṅ-akara m-orṟā kum-m-ṛ.* (Ibid. 180.)
2. *Na-na-na-ma ṅa-ya-ra-la va-la-la v-eṅṅum*  
*Ap-pati ṅ-orṟē puḷḷi y-iṟuti.* (Ibid. 78.)



have, in the opinion of the Tamil grammarians, for their quantity one *mātrā*<sup>1</sup> and not half a *mātrā* as stated by Dr. Caldwell; for, this 'u' does not play the same part in sandhi as 'ū' (*kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*) at the end of pure Tamil words:—*vāḱku* (*tadbhava* of *vāḱ*) + *iṅkē* becomes *vāḱku-v-iṅkē*; while *nāḱkū* (pure Tamil word) + *iṅkē* becomes *nāḱkiṅkē*, the intervocalic 'v' being inserted in the former case and 'ū' being dropped in the latter case<sup>2</sup>. (3) The addition of 'u' at the end of a syllable under the conditions stated above has certain limitations. It cannot hold good where there are two or more conjunct consonants. For instance, the Sanskrit word *plutākṣara* is tamilised into *ḥulutākkaram* and not *ḥulutāḱḱaram*. Hence the same law may be modified thus:—wherever in the middle of a word two or more conjunct consonants which can not be assimilated to each other appear, the intervocalic 'i' (*vyakta* into *viyaltam*) or 'u' (*ḥluta* into *ḥlutam*) is inserted since the genius of the Tamil language is to minimise the conjunct consonant. 'U' alone is not inserted, but 'i' also is inserted; this is generally determined by the consonants that precede and those that follow. This point is clearly stated in *Vīracōḷiyam* and *Naṅṅūl*, the grammars of the medieval period<sup>3</sup>. *Vīracōḷiyam* speaks of the

1. *Ētu, tātu eṅṅum vaṭa-mōli-y-iṅṅuti-y-ukaramum... kuṟṟuki-y-icaittal-vēṅṅum... aiṅṅam icaiyōmaiṅṅ... kuṟṟiyal-ukaram tamil-c-ciyappēluttōkaliṅ vaṭamōliṅ vārūtāyirṟū.* (T. M. V. 28.)

2. But it must be noted that the final 'u', whether at the end of pure Tamil words or *tadbhava* words or *tatsama* words, is now pronounced as if its 'ū', though grammars sanction it only in certain cases. This is a clear case where *false analogy* has played its part to the full; for instance, the final 'u' in 'itu' must have one *mātrā* and must be pronounced as 'u', but it is now pronounced as 'ū' though it is quite against the rules of grammar.

3. *Kūṭṭēluttin-pin ya-ra-la-k-katōṅṅiṅṅiṅ kūṭṭitaiyē*  
*Ōṭṭēluttōka-p peṅṅum-or-ikāram va-v-vu-k-k-or-u-v-v-ām*  
*Mūṭṭēluttu-t-tami l-allōṅṅo-pōm-vēṅṅu tēya-c-collin*  
*Mūṭṭēluttum-m-ita ṅāl-ari-mayṅṅai vikārattiṅṅē.* (V. Tat. 8.)  
*Iṅṅaintiyal kūlai ya-ra-la-k-k-ikaram-um*

insertion of 'i' and 'u', while Naṅṅūl speaks of that of 'a' also as in *arataṅgam*, the *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *ratna*<sup>1</sup>, which is seen in the following sentence,

'*arataṅgak kalaca viyaṅṅ karam*' (T. P. kaṭavuḷ, 3)

(Big hand holding a pot made of gems.)

1.3431. 'Ū'. Ū, as Dr. Caldwell says, is sufficiently persistent.

1.344. 'E' & 'O'. These two sounds, Dr. Caldwell says, are not found in Sanskrit. His statement is almost true; but Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* says that 'e' and 'o' are not generally found in Sanskrit, but find a place in the *Sātyamugri* and *Rāṅṅāyanīya Śākhās* of the *Sāma Vēda*<sup>2</sup>. The same point is noted in *Tolkāppiya-mutaṅṅ-cūttira-virutti*<sup>3</sup>.

M. J. Vinson says that 'e' and 'o' are always preceded by 'y' & 'w' respectively. This is true in the Tamil districts of India; but in Jaffna, I hear that it is not so<sup>4</sup>.

1.345. 'Ē' and 'Ō'. Dr. Caldwell seems to think like the Tamil grammarians of the modern period that these two sounds are the same as are found in Sanskrit. The author of *Pirayōka-vivēkam* says in his commentary under the 5th sūtra '*akara v-ikaram-ē karam-ākum*' (a and i become ē) and '*akara v-ukaram-ōkaram-ākum*' (a and u become ō) and calls them *canti-y-akkaram*.

*Ma-v-va-k k-ukaram-um nakara-k k-akaram-um*

*Micai-varum ra-v-vaḷi y-u-v-vu m-ām piṅṅa.* (Na. 149.)

1. This insertion of a vowel at the beginning is called *prothetic anaptyxis* and the same in the middle is called *medial anaptyxis*. This plays a large part in the Indian *Prākṛts*. Cf. *ittiyō* for *strī* and *paḍuma* for *padma*.

2. *Chandōḅḅānām sātyamugri vōṅḅāyanīyōḅ ardhamaḅkaram ardhamaḅkaraṅ cūdhīyatē; naiva hi lokē nānyasmin vēḅe ardhamaḅkaraḅrdhamaḅkaraḅ vāsti* (M. B. i. 22, lines 21, 23 & 24).

3. *Ekara okaraṅkaḷ...cōmavētam-uḅaiyāruḷ oru-cārār icai paṅṅi-k kuḷū-k-kuṅṅiḅḅa k koṅṅiḅḅupa-v-ūkalāṅṅum* (T. M. V. 26).

4. A temporary fact of Phonetics in Dravidian, *Dixieme Serie* tome 18, 1911....(J. A.)

Civañāṇa-muṇivar also says so.<sup>1</sup> But it seems to me that they are entirely different; for the Sanskrit 'ē' and 'ō' are diphthongs in their origin wherever they represent the Indo-Germanic tauto-syllabic *ai*, *ei* and *oi*, and tauto-syllabic *au*, *eu* and *ou*, respectively. They are still remembered as such in Prātiśākhya (R. V. P. i, 11; and A. V. P. iii, 40), and by the Sanskrit Grammarians Pāṇini, Patañjali and others. Cf. *ēcaḥ sandhyakṣarāṇi*. For grammatical purposes too, they are such when *a* and *i* coalesce into 'ē', and *a* and *u* coalesce into 'ō' and wherever they are respectively split into *ay* and *av* in sandhi as in *dēvē + iha* and *gurō + iha* which respectively become *dēvayiha* and *guraviha*. But they are not diphthongs wherever they represent the Indo-Germanic *az*. In pronunciation, they became simple long vowels even in the *Saṁhitā* period. This is seen from the fact that, in sandhi if the initial member of the succeeding word is 'a' and the final member of the preceding word is 'ē' or 'ō', the 'a' is elided.<sup>2</sup> (cf. *harē + atra = harētra*; *gurō + atra = gurōtra*) Cf. *lupyatē tu akūra-ēkārāṅkārāpūrvah* (Tai. P. xi, 1); *ēkūra-ukārāntāt pūrvah padādēvakārasya* (A. V. P. iii, 53). For grammatical purposes it is more an exception that they are simple long vowels rather than a general rule. But in Tamil they are always simple sounds as in the parent Indo-European language, and not diphthongs; for *a + i* becomes *a-v-i* or *ā + i* becomes *ā-y-i* as in *a-v-v-iṭam* and *ā-y-irutiṇai*, and so also *a + u* becomes *a-v-u* as in *pal-a-v-uṇṇū*. This difference in their nature is one of the points which determine that Tamil is independent of Sanskrit.

M. J. Vinson is of opinion that these two also are preceded by 'y' and 'w' in their pronunciation. But I hear that such is not the case in Jaffna.

1.346. 'AI': 1.3461. Dr. Caldwell says in p. 133 that "ei unlike the Sanskrit diphthong 'ai' represents e and i and not a

1. *Ekaram-āvatu akarakkūyūm-ikarakkūyūm . . . tammuṇ-otticaittu naramataṅkal-pōṇṇūkalūyūm . . . ievūyūtal-paṇṇi ē, ō, ai, au evṇu nūy-kiṇṇaiyūm vaṭanūlār cantiyakkaram-evṇar.* (T. M. V. 24.)

2. Cf. M. V. G. p. 4 Para 6 and p. 15 Para 2.

and *i*." The reasons he adduces for the same are (1) 'it is represented in Grantha and Malayālam by a double *e* and in Telugu-Canarese by a character which is compounded of *e* and *i*; (2) it is also to be observed that the Tamil *ei* is the equivalent of the *e* of the Malayālam accusative and is the ordinary representative of the final *e* of Canarese substantives and verbal nouns; (3) it is worthy of notice also that Kumārilabhaṭṭa in transliterating Tamil *naḍei* into Sanskrit characters writes it not as *naḍai*, but as *naḍe*.'

If the first reason holds good for Tamil '*ei*', it holds good for Sanskrit '*āi*' also, since it is represented in Devanāgarī script as two *e*'s (ॐ); it is not safe to determine the nature of a sound from its symbol.<sup>1</sup> The second point has already been answered under 1.3412. As regards the third point, Kumārilabhaṭṭa may have had in his mind the forms of spoken Tamil but not of written Tamil for he says *cōr* for *cōrū*.<sup>2</sup> The '*u*' at the end is only '*ū*' and so people may have pronounced *cōrū* as almost similar to *cōr*. I have already stated that the final '*u*' or '*ū*' is spoken only as '*ū*'. Similarly *naḍai* also may have been pronounced as *naḍe*, as is done even now. Hence Dr. Caldwell's third reason also cannot stand. Besides, Tolkāppiyāṇār clearly says that *ai* may be split into *a* and *i*<sup>3</sup> and *ay* may be used instead of *ai*<sup>4</sup>. It also appears to me that the way in which Tamil *ai* was, and is, pronounced may have influenced the pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* in the pre-Christian Era; for, in the earliest times, it is possible that the latter was pronounced as *āi* since it represented generally the Indo-Germanic *āi*, *ēi* and *ōi*. At the time of the author of Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya, it appears it

1. The symbols in Telugu for *v*, *ṣ*, *s*, *ṣ* and *h* have greater similarity than dissimilarity and it is not safe to conclude from it that they are related sounds.

2. *Cōr ityuktō* (K. T. V. under 1—3—9 and pp. 200 and 201 in Vol. 42 of the Indian Antiquary).

3. *Akara ikara m-aiḥāra m-āikum*. (Tol. E. 54.)

4. *Akara-t t-impar yakara-ṣ puḷḷiyum*  
*Ai-ye neṭuñ-ciṇai mey-ṣeṭ-t tōṅṅum*. (Ibid. 56.)

was pronounced as  $a$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )  $i$  ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) where  $a$  had half a *mātrā* and  $i$  one and a half *mātrās*.

Cf. *Ākārōrdham āikārāukārayōḥ ādih*

and

*Ikārō adyardhaḥ pūrvasya śeṣaḥ.* (Tai. P. ii, 26 and 28.)

The same, it seems to me, was the pronunciation at the time of Patañjali.

Cf. *Āicōśca uttarabhūyastvāt.* (M. B. i, 22, 18.)

It has been accepted that Patañjali lived in the 2nd century before Christ. The Tamil extant Grammar Tolkāppiyam may be taken to belong at least to the beginning of the Christian era, and there is no inscription or literary work in Telugu, Kanarese and Malayālam belonging to that date. It is evident that, at the time of Tolkāppiyānār, *ai* in Tamil was pronounced in the same way as it is now, since he says *ai* may sometimes be written as *ai* (அஐ) or *ay* (அய). Hence I am led to believe that the present pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* might be due to the influence of Dravidian languages, especially Tamil.<sup>1</sup>

1.3462. This *ai* is different from Sanskrit *ai* in two ways. Sanskrit *ai* is, for grammatical purposes, *āi*, and it is formed by the coalescence of  $a$  or  $ā$  with  $ē$ ; but, in Tamil, if  $a$  or  $ā$  is followed by  $ē$ , both would respectively become 'avē' generally and  $āvē$  or  $āyē$ , but never 'ai'. Hence, this cannot be said to be a diphthong in the same way as the Sanskrit *āi*; but it may be called so since it is split into  $a$  and  $i$ , or  $a$  and  $y$ , if it stands at the beginning of a word. Cf. *aivaṇam* (அவைணம்) or *ayvaṇam* for *aivaṇam* (அவைணம்).

1. When Taittiriya-Prāṭisākhya says that *ai* was  $a$  ( $\frac{1}{2}$ )  $i$  ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) it refers in all probability to its pronunciation. Śukla Yajurveda Prāṭisākhya says that the first part of *ai* and *au* is  $a$  and the second part  $ī$  and  $ū$ . This evidently refers to the etymology of the same. Ṛg-vēda Prāṭisākhya and Atharva-vēda Prāṭisākhya do not seem to say anything definitely on this point. But Dr. A. A. MacDonell says that *ai* and *au* were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of Prāṭisākhyas. (M. V. G. 15. 4.) I am not able to find out why he has said so.

1.347. 'AU'. Dr. Caldwell states that 'it has been placed in the (Dravidian) alphabets solely in imitation of Sanskrit. It is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives; and when such derivatives are used in Tamil, they are more commonly pronounced without the aid of this diphthong. Ordinarily, the diphthong is separated into its component elements; that is, the simple vowels *a* and *u*, from which it is derived, are pronounced separately, with the usual euphonic *v* of the Tamil between them to prevent hiatus.—e.g. the Sanskrit noun *saukhyam* is ordinarily pronounced and written in Tamil as *šavukkiyam*." (C. D. G. 136.) The same opinion is held by M. J. Vinson<sup>1</sup> and G. U. Pope.<sup>2</sup> Their whole argument stands on the assumption that it is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives. But there are words like *avvai*, *ṭavvam*, *kavvutal*, *vavvutal*, etc. which are pure Tamil words. In such cases *au* is replaced by *av* as *avvai*, *ṭavvam*, *kavvutal*, *vavvutal*, etc. and not by *avu* as in *šavukkiyam* as stated by Dr. Caldwell. Cf. *uḍy kavvi* (N. 70.) *kavviyam* (P. N. 188. 4). Besides, Tolkāppiyāṇār says that the initial *au* of a word may be split into *a* and *u*<sup>3</sup> and ḷampūraṇār says under Tol. E. 56 that it may be replaced by *av* as *ai* is replaced by *ay*. But Sanskrit *āu* though it was pronounced even at an early period as *au*<sup>4</sup> is for grammatical purposes only *āu* and can be replaced by only *āv* and not *av*. It also seems to me that the Tamil pronunciation of *au* may have changed the pronunciation of Sanskrit *āu* as in the case of *āi*, since the Sanskrit *āu* ought to have been once pronounced as *āu* and then as *a* ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ) *u* ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ ) at least till the time of Mahābhāṣya.

1.348. 'Ī'. This sound is peculiar to Tamil. It is found in the middle of words like *kēṇṇūyā*,<sup>5</sup> and in places where the

1. Sur un caractere singulier dans l' alphabet Tamoul in J. A. Onzieme Serie tome vii, 1916, p. 313, 4.

2. P. H. T. L. p. 13.

3. *Akara ukara m-akāra m-ākum*. (Tol. E. 55.)

4. M. V. G. 15, 3.

5. *Kuṇṇiya likara niṇṇal vēṇṇum*  
*Yāveṇ ciṇṇai-micai uraiyacai-k kiḷavi-k-*  
*Kūṇṇiyiy varūm makara m-ūrntē*. (Tol. E. 34.)



final 'ú' of a word is followed by 'y'<sup>1</sup> as in *nākú + yātú = nākí-yātú*.

*What could be its origin?* This may have been originally in the parent Dravidian language a glide almost similar to 'ú', and it may have been represented by 'i' whenever it was followed by the palatal semi-vowel *y*. Hence the Tamil grammarians have stated that *ú* changes to *i* when the former is followed by *y* in sandhi.

1.3481. 'Ū': 1.34811. It has already been stated that this differs from *u* both in quality and quantity and also undergoes change in sandhi quite differently from it. This is not found in Sanskrit, but it plays a large part in Tamil and so *Tolkāppiyam* contains one full chapter explaining the changes which it undergoes in sandhi. It is used as the final member of words except in the word *nūnlai*<sup>2</sup> after a voiceless consonant in words other than those which have only one short vowel which is not followed by a conjunct consonant or *āytam*.<sup>3</sup> Thus in *atu*, *itu*, *utu*, *u* is not *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*; but in *añkú*, *añtú*, *aḷapú*, *yātú*, it is *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*. *U* in *ēlu*, the modern form of ancient *ēl* cannot be *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* according to its definition in grammar, though it is pronounced so now. I have already stated that it has for its organ of articulation that of the previous voiceless consonant.<sup>4</sup> (Cf. 1.22. *supra*)

*What could be its origin?* Was it formerly *u* and was then shortened on account of accent or was it a vowel glide like the neutral vowel which appeared in pronouncing the final

1. *Puṇariya ũilai-y-ūtai-k kuṟṟukalu m-urittē*  
*Uṇara-k kūṟiy muṇṇar-t tōṇṇum.* (Ibid. 35.)
2. *Kuṟṟiya l-ukara muṇai-p-peyar maruñkiy*  
*Oṟṟiya nākara-micai nākaramoṭu mutalum.* (Ibid. 67.)
3. *Neṭṭelut t-imparun toṭarmōḷi y-īṟṟum*  
*Kuṟṟiya l-ukaram vallō ṟūrnō.* (Ibid. 36.)
4. *Cārntu-vari ũ-allatu tamakk-iyal p-ila-ṇ-ṇa-t*  
*Tērtu-velip paṭutta v-ṇṇai mūṇṇum*  
*Tattañ cārpiṟ piyappoṭu ciṇṇi*  
*Oṭta kūṟciyiy ṟam-m-iyal p-iyalum.* (Ibid. 101.)

voiceless consonants and later on taken as a secondary sound? If it were the former, it need not play in sandhi a part different from *u*. I have already stated that it (*ú*) is dropped if it is followed by a word commencing with a vowel, while *u* takes the intervocalic *v* when it is followed by a vowel. cf. *nākkú + in̄kē = nākkin̄kē*; *atu + in̄kē = atuvin̄kē*. Hence the latter view that it was in the parent Dravidian a vowel glide is worth considering. If that be so, we have to assume that the Tamil grammarians happened to recognise the glide, take it as a secondary sound and conclude that no voiceless consonant could be the final member of any word.<sup>1</sup>

1.3482. *UYIR-ALAPEṬAI*: 1.34821. The authors of *Vīracōḷiyam*, *Nēminātam*, *Naṅṅūl*, *Ilakkaṇa-ṽiḷakkam* and *Pirayōka-vivēkam* state that the seven sounds, *āa*, *īi*, *ūu*, *ēe*, *aii*, *ōo*, *auu* are *uyir-alapeṭai* each having three *mātrās* and have taken them as secondary vowels.

But *Tolkāppiyānār* has not mentioned them under secondary sounds; for it seems to me that in cases of *alapeṭai*, *āa*, *īi*, etc. are not *single* sounds according to him, but two sounds made up of *ā* and *a*, *ī* and *i*, etc. This is clear from the following points mentioned by him. He states in the *sūtra*

*Mū-v-aḷa p-icaitta l-ōr-eḷut t-in̄yē*. (Tol. E. 5.)

that there is no *single* sound having *three mātrās*; in the *sūtra*

*Niṭṭam vēṇṭi ṽ-a-v-v-aḷa p-uṭaiya*

*Kūṭṭi ṽ-eḷūta l-eṇmaṇār ṽulavar*. (ibid. 6.)

he says that, if the quantity of a sound is to be lengthened, separate sounds having the desired additional quantity should be added. In the *sūtra*

*Kuṇṇicai mōḷi-vayi ṽ-in̄ṇicai niṭaikkuṁ*

*Neṭṭeḷut t-impa v-otta-kur ṽeḷuttē*. (ibid. 41.)

1. Here it is worth noting that the vowel-glide *i* between *d* & *r* in the Sanskrit word *Indra* has appeared as a separate letter in the word *Indira* derived from the same. Similarly, the second *a* in the word *manḍratha* which originally was *manḍrtha*. (Wackernagel's *Altindisch Grammatik*.)



it is said that as many short like-vowels are added after a long vowel as the additional *mātrās* needed. In the sūtra

*E-eyā varum-uyir meyyī ṛ-ākātū.* (ibid. 71.)

it is said that *e* cannot be the final letter of a word if it is preceded by a consonant and in the sūtra

*Ekara v-okaram peyarkkḷ ṛ-ākū*  
*Muṇṇilai molīya v-eymanār pulavar*  
*Tēṛṛamuñ ciṛaṇṇu m-alvaḷi y-āṇa.* (ibid. 273.)

it is said that it follows *ē* denoting certainty or superiority. Hence in *ēc koṇṭāṇ*, *e* is taken to be a sound separate from *ē*. In the sūtra

*Tēṛṛa v-ekaramuñ ciṛaṇṇu ṇ-ovvum*  
*Mēy-kū ṛ-iyarkai velleḷuttū mikumē.* (ibid. 274.)

he says '*tēṛṛa v-ekaramum*' which clearly shows that *ē* and *e* in *ēe* are considered separate sounds. In the sūtra

*Ē-y-e ṇ-iyuli-k k-ekaram varumē.* (ibid. 278.)

he says that *e* will follow *ē*. That the same is the case with *o* in *ōo* is inferred from the sūtras Tol. E. 273 and

*Vēṛṇumai-k kaṇṇu m-atayō v-ayrē*  
*Okaram varula l-ā-vayi ṇ-āṇa.* (ibid. 293.)

In the sūtra

*Kuṛiyalay muṇṇaru m-ōreḷuttu molikkum*  
*Aṛiya-t tōṇṇu m-akara-k kiḷavi.* (ibid. 227.)

it is said that *a* is inserted after *ō*, the final member of the standing word, if it is preceded by a short vowel as *palā-a-k-kōtū* or if it happens to be a single lettered word.<sup>1</sup> In the sūtra,

*Aḷaṇṇai mikū m-ikara-v-iṇṇeyar*  
*Iyarkaiya v-ākuñ-ceyarkaiya v-eyṇa.*  
 (Tol. Col. 125.)

he says that the word ending in *i* which generally appears with *aḷaṇṇai* in the nominative case remains as it is without any change in the vocative case. For instance, the word

1. It may be noted that the author of *Pirayōka vivēkam* says that in *marāṇai*, *panāṇṇu*, *a* is separate from *ā* and an intervocalic is not inserted between them. (P. V. P. 49.)

*toḷi* can be used in the same form as nominative or vocative. Here he states that the final member of such words is *i* and not *ī*. Besides in *Ceyyūḷ-iyal*, a section in the third chapter of *Tolkāppiyam*, he says that *aḷapeṭai* may be taken as a separate syllable in prosody<sup>1</sup>. For example in *paṇiyār lēem* (*Pattu*. 220, 230) *tē* is taken as one *acai* and *em* as another, though *e* is added to prolong the quantity of *ē*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly in *kaṭṭāk kaḷiyyimēl* (*K.* 1087) *kaṭṭā* is taken as one *acai* and *āk* as another.<sup>3</sup>

The reason why he does not treat *āa*, *īi*, etc. in cases of *aḷapeṭai* as single sounds seems to me this. In *Manusmṛti* there is a line

*Akāraścāsya nānunoutē vācyah pūrvākṣarah plutaḥ*  
(M. S. 2. 125.)

in connection with the use of *pluta* in *pratyabhi-vādana*. This is interpreted by some commentators that *a* is only *vpalakṣaṇam* here and it means that the final syllable of the name of the person who prostrates himself before another should be *pluta* in the blessings offered by the latter, in the same way as is said by Pāṇini; (*i.e.*) if *Dēvadatta* is a *dvija* and prostrates himself before another, another should say 'āyusmān bhava *Devadatta*ḥ'; if he is *Hari*, 'āyusmān bhava *Hare*ḥ' etc. But *Haradatta*, the author of *Padamañjarī*, a commentary on *Kāśikāvṛtti*, interprets the same line in a different way. The final syllable should be *pluta* and an 'a' should be added to it at the end. Hence the *pratyabhi-vādana* should be in the form 'āyusmān bhava *Devadatta*ḥ a.' Similarly if two persons *Śambhu* and *Pinākaḷāṇi* are at a distance and they are called, the forms that should be used in the vocative case are *Śambho*ḥ and *Pinākaḷāṇe*ḥ in the opinion of Pāṇini and *Śambho*ḥ a, and *Pinākaḷāṇe*ḥ a, in the opinion of *Haradatta*. Similarly if they are not at a distance, the forms that should be used are *Śambha*ḥ u and *Pinākaḷāṇa*ḥ i according to Pāṇini, and *Śambha*ḥ va and *Pinākaḷāṇa*ḥ ya according to *Haradatta*.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Aḷapeṭai-y-acai-nilai-y-ūkalu-m-urittē*. (*Tol. Ceyyū*. 17.)

2 & 3. These are cases of hiatus allowed by *Tolkāppiyāṅgār*.

4. *Pandit Reprint* 12. *Kāśikā vyākhyā uttarārdha* p. 960 and P. A. 8. 2. 83, 8. 2. 84 and 8. 3. 107.

The latter says that his interpretation is based on what is said in Bharataśāstra.<sup>1</sup>

From this it is evident that there were two schools as regards the use of *pluta*. Tolkāppiyāṇār having in his mind the view of the author of Bharataśāstra may have thought that, since a separate syllable *a* is used by him in all places, there is no need for the previous sound to be *pluta*, and hence may have said that there is no need for a sound *a* having three *mātrās* before the final *a*. Besides to have *a* even after *i*, *e*, *o* may not have appealed to him. Hence he may have thought that, if one wants to use similar sounds, one might as well use *ī*, *ū*, *ē* and *ō* with *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* following them. This is most probably the reason for his saying that there is no single sound having three *mātrās* (Tol. E. 5). Hence, according to him, *a*ḷaḷeḷai is that sound *a*, *i*, *u*, etc. which is super-added to the preceding long vowel *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, etc. It may be worth noting that the term *a*ḷaḷeḷai is adapted from the term *pluta* though in a somewhat different sense.

But the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* in the light of what is said in Pāṇini's grammar may have mistaken *a*ḷaḷeḷai for *pluta* in Sanskrit and hence has stated that *ā*, *ī*, etc. are *a*ḷaḷeḷai and the others may have followed him. They have taken them as secondary sounds, since according to them secondary sounds are those which are other than primary sounds and no primary sound has more than two *mātrās* for its quantity. If *a*ḷaḷeḷai, according to them, has three *mātrās*, they should have given separate names for *ā*aa, *ā*aaa and so on. But they have not done so. Perhaps they too may be called *a*ḷaḷeḷai in the same way as a sound of four *mātrās* in Sanskrit is called *pluta*<sup>2</sup>. The authors of *Nēminātam*, *Nāṇṇūl*, *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam* and *Toṇṇūl-viḷakkam* have followed the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* in toto in this point; but the authors of *Nāṇṇūl* and *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam*, when they make mention of the vowels that can stand finally in words,

1. I searched for this statement in the extant editions of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but I was not able to find it out.

2. *Iṣyata ēva catur mātrāḥ plutaḥ* (M. B. iii. 421, 13 & 14).

say that the short vowels can stand finally even when they are part of *aḷapeṭai*.<sup>1</sup> This is not consistent with their statement that *aḷapeṭai* has three *mātrās*. Hence it seems to me that they two did not have a decisive idea about it.

Uraiyācīriyar and Naṅṅārkkīṇiyar in commenting on the sūtra

*Niṭṭam vēṇṭi ṅ-a-v-v-aḷa-p uṭaiya*  
*Kūṭṭi-y-eḷūnta l-eṇṇmaṇār pulavar.* (Tol. E. 6.)

say that the long and the short vowel should be pronounced together. Hence it appears that, in their opinion, *āa*, *ii*, etc., are pronounced as vowels having three *mātrās*, but for grammatical purposes they are separate sounds. Civañāṇa-muṇivar, on the other hand, says that *aḷapeṭai eḷuttū* has three *mātrās*<sup>2</sup> and it is made up of one long vowel and one short vowel and since it is used in the place of the long vowel only for lengthening its *mātrā* without any change in meaning, it is not included as a separate sound, and hence it is not included among vowels.<sup>3</sup> On considering the sūtras in *Tolkāppiyam* mentioned above, it may be clear that Civañāṇa-muṇivar confounds the *pluta* in Sanskrit with *aḷapeṭai*. But in the definition of *cārpeḷuttū* or secondary sounds he agrees with *Tolkāppiyaṇār* and hence he has not included *aḷapeṭai* among them.

The number of *uyir-aḷapeṭai* is 7 according to the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods except *Naṅṅūlār*. He says that they are 21 taking into consideration the place in a word where it occurs, whether at the beginning, middle or end. But since the sound is generally the same whether it is at the beginning, middle or end, it does not appear to be scientific to further sub-divide 7 and make them into 21.

1. *Kuṟṟuyi r-aḷapi ṅ-iṟā m-ekaram*

*Meyyō ṭēlū ton na-v-vo-ṭām-au*

*Kakara vakaramō ṭūku m-eṇpa.* (Na. 108 & I. V. 29.)

2. *Mūṭṭu māṭṭiraiyāy uccarikkūnkāl aḷapeṭai y-eḷutteṭṭum*  
(T. M. V. p. 24.)

3. *Aḷapeṭai anneṭṭeḷuttūṭu...* (p. 24, Line 3.) *muṇṇuṇarvāṇṭrntu-  
narka* (T. M. V. p. 24).

1.3483.—‘Shortened *ai*’: Ancient Period. Tolkāppiyāṅār mentions that ‘*ai*’ has in certain positions only one *mātrā*,<sup>1</sup> but does not say where it so happens, nor does he include such ‘*ai*’ among secondary sounds, since it has the same place of articulation as ‘*ai*’ though reduced in quantity, and it may sometimes be used as the initial letter of a word as *aiyam* and hence does not satisfy this definition of *cārpeḷuttū* or secondary sounds.

*Medieval and Modern Periods.* The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* says that the shortened *ai*, has for its quantity one *mātrā* and a half. The author of *Nēminātam* agrees with him and includes it among secondary sounds. The authors of *Naṅṅūl*, *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and *Toṅṅūl-viḷakkam* say that it has only one *mātrā* for its quantity. C. J. Beschi says that it is shortened in such words as *aippaci* where it is the initial letter, in words like *maṭaiyaṅ* where it is medial and in words like *kuvaḷai* where it is final. All of them include it among secondary sounds since it is other than ‘*ai*’ having two *mātrās* and hence satisfies their definition of *cārpeḷuttū*. The division by *Naṅṅūlār* of ‘shortened *ai*’ into three according to its place in a word is unnecessary and unscientific. *Civañāṇa-muṇivar* agrees with Tolkāppiyāṅār.

Since no purpose is served by taking ‘shortened *ai*’ as a secondary sound, the opinion of Tolkāppiyāṅār seems to me to be the sound one.

1.3484. ‘Shortened *au*’: Ancient Period: Tolkāppiyāṅār does not speak definitely about this; but the commentators on the *sūtra*

*Ōr-aḷa p-āku m-iṭay-um-ā r-uṅṅē*  
*Tēruṅ kālai moḷi-vayi ṅ-āṇa.* (Tol. E. 57.)

say that what holds good for ‘*ai*’ holds good for ‘*au*’ also.

*Medieval and Modern Periods:* The ‘shortened *au*’ is considered in the same way, as ‘shortened *ai*.’ *Vīracōḷiyam* says that it has one and a half *mātrās* while the rest, one *mātrā*.

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1. *Ōraḷa pāku m-iṭanum-ā r-uṅṅē*  
*Tēruṅ kālai moḷi-vayi ṅ-āṇa.* (Tol. E. 57.)

Whatever is said of 'ai' holds good of 'au' also. C. J. Beschi says that *au* is shortened to *au̇* only when it stands initially. Dr. Caldwell does not make mention of the shortened *au*.

1.35. *Vowel Gradation.* This plays only a very small part in Tamil. In the declension of pronouns like *nī, nām, tāy*, the *ī* and the *ā* are shortened in the oblique cases as *niyyai, niyyāl*, etc., *nammai, namuāl*, etc., *tayyai, tayyāl*, etc., and *yā* in the pronoun *yāy* is shortened to *e* in the oblique cases as *eyyai, eyyāl*, etc. But on the whole its part in the Tamil language is very small since the cases and the conjugation in Tamil are not classified as strong and weak, except that the nominative case may be considered strong and the remaining weak.

In some of the verbal forms of monosyllabic roots having *ā, ā* is shortened to *a*.

Root.	Present Tense.	Past Tense.	Future.	Past Relative Participle.
<i>tā</i>	<i>tarukiyāy</i>	<i>tantāy</i>	<i>taruvāy</i>	<i>tanta</i>
<i>kāy</i>	<i>kāykiyāy</i>	<i>kaṇṭāy</i>	<i>kāyṭāy</i>	<i>kaṇṭa</i>
<i>cā</i>	<i>cākiyāy</i>	<i>cettāy</i>	<i>cāvāy</i>	<i>cetta</i>

Sometimes the negative forms of verbs have long vowels, while the positive forms short ones.

Root.	Affirmative.	Negative.
<i>kāy</i>	<i>kaṇṭāy</i>	<i>kāyāy</i>
<i>vā</i>	<i>varuvāy</i>	<i>vāyāy</i>
<i>tā</i>	<i>taruvāy</i>	<i>tāyāy</i>

In forming nouns from certain verbs, the short vowels are lengthened.

Root.	Noun.
<i>viṭu</i>	<i>vīṭu</i>
<i>keṭu</i>	<i>kēṭu</i>
<i>paṭu</i>	<i>pāṭu</i>
<i>miṭu</i>	<i>mīṭu</i>
<i>cuṭu</i>	<i>cūṭu</i>

This is one of the most important points where Tamil differs from Indo-European languages in general and Sanskrit in particular where gradation plays a very prominent part.

1.36. *Initial and final vowels in words in Tamil and in Sanskrit ; Their Similarities and Dissimilarities:* Tolkāppiyāṅār says that all the 12 primary vowels can stand both as the initial and the final member of words, but the final *au* can be preceded only by *k* or *v*, the final *e* cannot be preceded by any consonant, the final *o* by any consonant except *n*, the final *ē* and *ō* by *ā* and *u* and *ū* by *n* or *v*.<sup>1</sup> Of the secondary vowels *ú* cannot stand at the beginning, while shortened *i* can stand neither at the beginning nor at the end. The author of *Viracōḷiyam* differs from Tolkāppiyāṅār in the fact that *e* and *o* cannot stand as final members. This is possibly due to the fact that, according to the latter, *e* in *ēe* (a particle denoting certainty) is not a part of it in the same way as is taken by the former and the word 'no' might have become obsolete in his time<sup>2</sup>.

But Nannūlār and other grammarians agree with Tolkāppiyāṅār in this respect.<sup>3</sup> According to them *aḷaḷeṭai* and 'shortened *ai*' can stand both at the beginning and at the end, 'shortened *au*' only at the beginning, *ú* cannot stand at the beginning and *i* cannot stand either at the beginning or at the end.

1. *Paṅṅi v-uyiru molī-muta l-ākum.* (Ibid. 59.)  
*Uyir-au v-eñciya v-iṅuti y-ākum.* (Ibid. 69.)  
*Ka-va-v-ō ṭiyaiyi n-au-v-u m-ākum.* (Ibid. 70.)  
*E-eṅa varum-uyir mey-y-i ṭ-ākūtū.* (Ibid. 71.)  
*O-v-v-u m-ayṭē na-v-v-alañ kaṭaiyē.* (Ibid. 72.)  
*Ē ṭ eṅum-uyir ṅakāra-t-tillai.* (Ibid. 73.)  
*Ū ū kāra na-va-v-oṭu navilā.* (Ibid. 74.)
2. *Īṅu-makara ṅakarāṅkaṭāmu m-iṭai-y-iṅattil*  
*Ērum-vakara m-oḷintaintum-ārain teḷiḷ-uyirum*  
*Vīṅumali-vēñ kaṭaiñ-kumari-k-kiṭai mēviṭṭeṅṅū*  
*Kūṅun-tamiḷiṅṅuk k-iṭṭeḷuttām-eṅṅar kōḷ vaḷaiyē.* (V. C. 8.)
3. *Āvi ṅa-ṅa-na-ma-na ya-ra-la-va la-ḷa-mey*  
*Cāyu m-ukara nūl-ūṅu m-iṭē.* (Na. 107.)



## 42 HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL

The Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya, the Śukla Yajur-vēda Prātiśākhya and Atharva-vēda Prātiśākhya say that *ī* (᳚) cannot stand as final.<sup>1</sup> The Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya adds *ṛ* also in the 1st verse of the 12th chapter.<sup>2</sup> The Śukla Yajur-vēda Prātiśākhya adds that *ṛ* can stand as final only in the first members of compounds.<sup>3</sup> It seems to me that in mentioning the initial and the final vowels in words, Tolkāppiyaṇār has followed the Prātiśākhyas since Pāṇini considered it unnecessary to mention them.



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1. *Nalkūrah svarēṣu.* (R. V. P. 1. 9.)  
*Svarāśca īkāravarjam.* (S. Y. V. P. 1. 87.)  
*Anīkūrah svarah padyah.* (A. V. P. 1. 4.)
  2. *Nāntam yānti . . . īkūraḥakūrūu.* (R. V. P. 12. 1.)
  3. *Nakūrarkārūvagrahē.* (S. Y. V. P. 1. 88.)



1.4. CONSONANTS : 1.41. CLASSIFICATION.

1.411. *Ancient Period* :—Tolkāppiyānār says that there are eighteen consonants from *k* to *ṅ* which may be classified as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

		Voiceless	Voiced	
Plosives :	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	} Nasa <sup>1</sup> also.
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Cerebral		<i>ṅ</i>	
	Alveolar	<i>t</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Dental	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	
Semi-vowels	Palatal	<i>y</i>		
	Cerebral	<i>r &amp; ṛ</i>		
	Dental	<i>l</i>		
	Labio-dental	<i>v</i>		
Fricatives <sup>2</sup>	Cerebral	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	

Tolkāppiyānār classifies consonants as *valliṅam*, *melliṅam* and *iṭaiyiṅam*. This must have been done with reference to the *muyarci* (*prayatna*) or effect. *K*, *c*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p* and *ṣ* are mentioned as *valliṅam*<sup>3</sup>, *ṅ*, *ṇ*, *ṅ*, *ṇ*, *m*, *ṅ* as *melliṅam*<sup>4</sup> and *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ṣ*

1. The parallelism between

*Ṇakara-v-iṣuvāy-p potiyenṇeluttumeyyēṇa molipa.* (Tol. E. 9.)  
and

*Hakārūntūni kādīni vyañjanāni vidur budhāh.* (B.N. p. 170, 8.)

is worth noting; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of *Nāṭyaśāstra* is anterior or posterior to Tolkāppiyam.

2. In Tamil grammar *ṣ* and *ṣ* are not separately classified as fricatives, but from their pronunciation, I have mentioned them as such for the sake of clearness.

3. *Vallēlut t-ēṇpa ka-ca-ṇa ta-pa-ṇa.* (Tol. E. 19.)

4. *Mellelut t-ēṇpa ṇa-ṇa-ṇa na-ma-ṇa.* (ibid. 20.)

and *l* as *iṭaiyinaṃ*<sup>1</sup>. He does not mention the distinction between the semi-vowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* and the fricative *ḷ*, nor takes *ṛ* as a fricative. The word *iṭaiyinaṃ* appears to me to be the translation of the Sanskrit *antahstha*.

He also states the place of articulation for the different consonants :—*k* and *ṅ* are produced by the contact of the root of the tongue with the root of the hard palate<sup>2</sup>, *c* and *ṅ* by that of the middle part of the tongue with the middle part of the hard palate,<sup>3</sup> *ṭ* and *ṇ* by that of the tip of the tongue with the front of the hard palate<sup>4</sup> &<sup>5</sup>, *ṭ* and *ṇ* by the extended tip of the tongue completely touching the upper gums<sup>6</sup>, *ṛ* and *ṛ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate<sup>7</sup>, *r* and *ḷ* by the tip of the tongue being raised and allowed to gently press against the hard palate<sup>8</sup>, *l* and *ḷ* by the extended tip of the tongue respectively touching the upper gums and pressing against them<sup>9</sup>, *p* and *m* by joining the lips<sup>10</sup>

1. *ṭai-y-ḷut t-ṅpa ya-ra-la va-la-la*. (ibid. 21.)

2. *Kakāra ṅakāra mutanṅā v-aṅṅam*. (ibid. 89.)

3. *Cakāra ṅakāra v-iṭainā v-aṅṅam*. (ibid. 90.)

4. *Takāra ṅakāra nuṅi-nā v-aṅṅam*. (ibid. 91.)

5. Here it is to be noted that *ṭ* and *ṇ* as defined here are not now pronounced in the same way, but are pronounced as cerebrals; but the old pronunciation is generally preserved in Malayālam.

6. *Aṅṅa naṅṅiya paṅ-mutaṅ maruṅkiṅ*  
*Nū-nuṅi parantu me-y-ṛa v-orṛa-t*  
*Tām iṅitū piṛakkum takāra nakūram*. (Tol. E. 93.)

7. *Aṅari nuṅi-nā v-aṅṅa m-orṛa*  
*Rakāḷā ṅakāḷā ṅ-āyiraṅṅum piṛakkum*. (ibid. 94.)

8. *Nuṅi-nā v-aṅari y-aṅṅam varuṭa*  
*Rakāra ḷakāra m-āyiraṅṅum piṛakkum*. (ibid. 95.)

9. *Nā-viḷimṇū viṅki y-aṅpaṅ mutal-ṛa*  
*Āvavi ṅ-aṅṅa m-orṛavum varuṭavum*  
*Lakāra ḷakāram-a y-iraṅṅum piṛakkum*. (ibid. 96.)

10. *Itaḷ-iyaintu piṛakkum paḷāra maḷāram*. (ibid. 97.)

v by bringing the upper teeth against the lower lip<sup>1</sup>, y by allowing the air which passes through the neck to pass very close to the hard palate<sup>2</sup>. And the *melligam* letters have, in addition to their places of articulation noted above, the nose also<sup>3</sup>.

The difference between ṛ and ṝ is that the former is produced at the front of the palate with the tip of the tongue facing backwards and that the latter is produced behind it with the tip of the tongue facing forwards.

Here it is worth noting that the place of articulation for the gutturals, palatals, dentals, labials and v as mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār closely agree with those mentioned in Taittirīya Prātiśākhya and to a large extent with those in other Prātiśākhyas. Cf.

*Kakāra ṅakāra mutayā v-aṅṅam* (Tol. E. 86) with  
*Hanumūlē jihvāmūlēna kavargē sparśayati* (Tai. P. ii, 35) ;

*Cakāra ṅakāra miṣat-nā v-aṅṅam* (Tol. E. 20) with  
*Tāiāu jihvāmādhyēna cavargē* (Tai. P. ii, 36) ;

*Tālusthōnā madhyēna* (S. Y. V. P. i, 79) and

*Tālavayānām madhya-jihvam* (A. V. P. i, 21) ;

*Aṅṅam nanṅiya ... nā-nuṅi parantu . . takāra nakāram*  
(Tol. E. 93) with

*Jihvāgrēṅa tavargē dantamūlēṣu* (Tai. P. ii, 38) and

*Dantyanām jihvāgram prastīrṅam*<sup>4</sup> (A. V. P. i, 24,) ;

*Itaḷ-iyaintu piṅakkum pakāra makāram* (Tol. E. 97) with  
*Oṣṭhābhyām pavargē* (Tai. P. ii, 39.) ;

1. *Pal-t-ita ḷ-iyaiya vakāram piṅakkum.* (ibid. 98.)

2. *Aṅṅaṅ cērnta miṣarṅṅeḷu ṛaḷi-y-icai*  
*Kaṅṅuṅ ṛaṅaiya yakāram piṅakkum.* (ibid. 99.)

3. *Melleḷut t-āṅṅum piṅaṅṅi ṅ-āḷḷaṅṅ*  
*Colliya poḷḷi nilaiyiyā v-āyiyu*  
*Mūḷḷiṅ vaḷi-y-icai yāppuṅa-t tōṅṅum.* (ibid. 100.)

4. The word *prastīrṅam* in A. V. P. and the word *parantu* in Tolkāppiyam convey exactly the same meaning.

*Pal-l-italiyaiya vakaram piyakkum* (Tol. E. 97) with  
*Oṣṭhāntābhyām dantair vakārē* (Tai. P. ii. 43.).

1. 412. *Medieval period* :—In the medieval period the same is said about the classification and production of consonants with this difference :—Nannūlar states that *p* and *m* are produced by the upper lip pressing upon the lower lip<sup>1</sup> and *y* is produced by allowing the root of the tongue to press upon the root of the hard palate<sup>2</sup>. Practically, there is no difference between Nannūlar and Tolkāppiyam as regards the first point and there is slight difference as regards the second point.

1.413. *Modern period* : 14131. The author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with Nannūlar as regards the place of production of *p* and *m* and agrees with Tolkāppiyaṇār as regards that of *y*.<sup>3</sup>

		Voiceless.		Voiced.	
		Non-nasal.		Nasal.	
Plosives.	Guttural	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	
	Palatal	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ñ</i>	
	Cerebral	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ṇ<sup>5</sup>, ṇ<sup>6</sup></i>	
	Dental	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>n</i>	
	Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	

1. *Mīkī l-italiṭṭap pa-m-ma-p piyakkum.* (Na. 81.)

2. *Aṭṭnā vaṭiyāṇa muṭṭayat tṭṭṭum.* (ibid. 82.)

3. *Mīkī l-italiṭṭ-a-p pakūra makūra m-iraṇṭu m-aṇṇaṇ*  
*cērnta miṭṭṭeḷu vaṭiyicai kaṇṇuṭṭiya yakūramum.* (I. V. 12.)

4. This refers to the consonant sounds found in certain dialects, if I may so call them spoken in the districts of Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, etc.

5. 'ṇ' is now pronounced by rounding the tip of the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate. Hence at present *t* and *ṇ* are cerebrals and not alveolars.

6. 'ṇ' is classed as cerebral though, when pronouncing it, the tip of the tongue is raised and allowed to gently touch the hard palate which is in front of the roof.

Semi-vowels.	{	Palatal		y
		Cerebral		r, l
	{	Dental		l
		Labio-dental		v
Fricatives.	{	Palatal	ś	
		Dental	s	
		Cerebral	ř & ř	l
Aspirate.			h	

All the sounds noted here are not found in certain dialects. For instance, in the dialect spoken in Tinnevely it is said by the residents there that the sounds ś and ř are not generally found ; in the dialect spoken in Madras the aspirate h is not generally found ; in the dialect spoken at Jaffna it is said that most of the sounds g, j, ś, d, b, ř and h are not found. Though new sounds have crept into the language, new symbols for them have not been introduced except for j, ś (in very few cases in Vaiṣṇavaite works) ř, s and h. But Dr. Caldwell thinks that all these sounds have been in existence in the Tamil Language from the earliest time since he says that 'the Tamilian rule which requires the same consonant to be pronounced as k in one position and as g in another ... is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning'. Whether his view is correct or wrong will be discussed in 1.44, *infra*.

1.42. A point to be noted about Valliṅam, Mellinam and Itaiyinam :—Iḥampūraṅar states in his commentary under the sūtra—

*Melleḷul l-āṅum piṛaṅṅi v-ākkam*

*Colliya paḷḷi nilaiyiṅa v-āyiyum*

*Mūkkiy val-i-y-icai yāṅṅura-l lōṅṅum* (Tol. E. 100)

noted above that the six *mel-l-ḷuttū* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the nose, though they are produced in the places noted above ; since the word 'yāṅṅura' is used, it is to be noted that *iṭai-y-ḷuttū* are clearly made audible by the air passing through the neck or gullet and *val-l-ḷuttū* by the air passing through the head<sup>1</sup>. Here it deserves to be noted that

1. *Itai-y-ḷuttūṅkū miṅṅuru-taiyūm, val-l-ḷuttūṅkū talai-valiyūn koḷka.* (Tol. E. 100, Iḥam.)

Tolkāppiyaṅār has mentioned in the sūtra that nose also is the place of production in addition to that mentioned for the respective nasal possibly having before his mind the sūtras 'nāsikyāḥ nāsikāsthānāḥ (Tai. P. ii, 49.) and *vargavaccāṣu* (Tai. P. ii, 51). How Iḥampūraṅar and the later grammarians have made a mistake has been fully dealt with in 1.1. *supra*.

1.43. *Another point to be noted about Iḥai-y-iṅam*:—In Iḥakkaṇaviḷakkam<sup>1</sup> and Tolkāppiya-mutaṛcūttira-virutti<sup>2</sup> it is said that *iḥaiy-iṅam* is midway between *valliṅam* or the voiceless consonants and the *melliṅam* or the nasals in their nature. It is not clear how it is so. *Iḥai-y-eḷuttū* is simply the translation of the Sanskrit *antaḥstha* which means midway between vowel and *sparsā* or explosives, since, in pronouncing vowels most of which have *virṭa-prayatna*, air completely escapes and in pronouncing explosives which have *spṛṣṭa-prayatna*, there is complete contact between the tongue and the other organs of speech so that air is completely arrested in its passage, and in pronouncing *y, r, l, v*, which have *iṣai-spṛṣṭa-prayatna*, there is only slight contact between the tongue and the vocal organs so that most of the air freely passes and in pronouncing *ś, ṣ, s*, which have *iṣad-virṭa-prayatna*, air is allowed to escape with friction. The difference between semi-vowels and fricatives lies only in the fact that there is less prevention in the former and greater prevention in the latter; but both agree in the point, that in pronouncing them air does not completely escape as in the case of vowels, nor is it completely arrested in its passage as in the case of explosives. Hence the author of Tolkāppiyam has, in my opinion, included *y, r, l, v, ś* and *ṣ* under one category and called them *iḥaiyeḷuttū*. But it is surprising that the authors of Iḥakkaṇaviḷakkam and

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1. *Melleḷuttaiyum valleḷuttaiyum nōkka-t tām iḥai-nikaravūy olittalāyūm.* (I. V. 7, Comm.)
  2. *Valleḷuttukkaṅ munṇum av-v-avarriṅk-iṅamotta melleḷuttukkaḷ av-v-avarriṅ-piṇṇumūki valikkappaḷḥaṅa. Av-v-iraṅṅu nōkki-y-allatū iḥai-nikaravūy-olittal aṅiya-p-paṭāmaiṅṅ atū-paṅṅi iḥaiyeḷuttukkaḷ av-v-iru-kūṅṅiṅkum-piṇṇvaiikkappaḷḥaṅa.*

(T. M. V. p. 23.)

Tolkāppiya-mutaṅ-cūttira-virutti who seem to have had considerable knowledge of Sanskrit have gone wrong in this point.

But Dr. Caldwell has rightly translated *iṭaiyeḷuttū* as semi-vowels.

1.44. *The Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants* :—This theory is explained by Dr. Caldwell in p. 138 as follows:—‘There are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all the Dravidian dialects but it is most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayāḷam. The law as apparent in the Tamil-Malayāḷam system of sounds is as follows :—*k, ṭ, t, p*, the first unaspirated consonants of the first, third, fourth and fifth vargas are always pronounced as tenues or surds (*i. e.*, as *k, ṭ, t, p*) at the beginning of words, and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i. e.*, as *g, ḍ, d, b*) when single in the middle of words. A sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle, except when doubled; and so imperative is this law and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from sonants to surds, or *vice-versa* according to their position—*e. g.* *danta* (Skt. a tooth) becomes in Tamil, *tandam*; *bhāgya* (Skt. happiness) becomes in Tamil, *ḷākkiam*. This rule applies also to the case of compounds. The first consonant of the second word, though it was a surd when it stood independent, is regarded as a sonant when it becomes a medial letter in a compound word. This difference is marked in Telugu by a difference in character which is employed:—*e. g.* *annadamulu* (for *annalamulu*) elder and younger brother; *koṭṭabaḍu* (for *koṭṭapaḍu*), to be beaten; but in Tamil and generally in Malayāḷam, the difference appears in the pronunciation alone. This rule applies to all compounds in Telugu; but in Tamil, when the words stand in a case-relation to one another, or when the first is governed by the second, the initial surd of the second word is not softened, but doubled and hardened, in token of its activity:—*e. g.* instead of *koṭṭabaḍu*, to be beaten, it prefers to say *koṭṭa(p)-paḍu*. In *dvandva* compounds Tamil agrees with Telugu.



‘A similar rule applies to the pronunciation of *ch* or *ĉ* (the Tamil *ś*) the first consonant of the second varga. When single, it is pronounced as a soft weak sibilant, with a sound midway between *ś*, *sh* and *ch*. This pronunciation is unchanged in the middle of words and in all cases in which the letter is single; but when it is doubled, it is pronounced exactly like *chch* or *ĉĉ*. The principle involved in this instance is the same as in the cases previously mentioned, but the operation of the rule is in some degree different. The difference consists in the pronunciation of this consonant in the beginning of a word, as well as in the middle as a sonant, *i.e.* as *ś*. By theory it should be pronounced as *ch* at the beginning of a word—and it is worthy of notice that it always receives this pronunciation at the beginning of a word in vulgar, colloquial Tamil; and in Malayālam and Telugu it is written as well as pronounced *ch*. A somewhat similar rule prevails with respect to rough *r* of the Tamil which is pronounced as *r* when single and like *tr* when doubled.

‘The Tamilian rule which requires the same consonant to be pronounced as *k* in one position and as *g* in another, as *f*, *t*, *p* in one position and as *g*, *d*, *b* in another is not a mere dialectic peculiarity, the gradual result of circumstances, or a modern refinement invented by grammarians, but is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning<sup>1</sup>.

‘The Tamil characters were borrowed, I conceive, from the earlier Sanskrit, and the language of the Tamilians was committed to writing on or soon after the arrival of the first colony of Brahmans, probably several centuries before the Christian Era. Yet even at that early period the Tamil alphabet was arranged in such a manner as to embody the peculiar Dravidian Law of the Convertibility of Surds and Sonants. The Tamil alphabet systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted

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1. The Rev. Dr. Pope and M. J. Vinson state the same theory with a slight modification, the former in page 7 of his *Tamil Hand Book* and the latter in page 654 of *Journal Asiatique Dixieme serie Tome 18* 1911.



the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds. This circumstance clearly proves that *ab initio* the Dravidian phonetic system, as represented in Tamil, its most ancient exponent, differed essentially from that of Sanskrit'.

Here we have to examine (1) whether this law holds good for *Tamil language* from the earliest times or in Dr. Caldwell's words whether it is essentially inherent in the language, and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning; (2) whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in *Tamil*; (3) whether there was an *imperative law* that a sonant cannot commence a word, and that a surd is inadmissible in the middle of a word except when doubled; and (4) whether the *Tamil alphabet* systematically passed by the sonants of the Sanskrit, and adopted the surds alone, considering one character as sufficient for the expression of both classes of sounds.

1. *Whether it is essentially inherent in the language* :—Tolkāppiyaṅār, the author of the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language, says in the first sūtra

*Eluttena-p paṭupa*  
*Akara-mutal*  
*Nakara v-iṅuvāy muṭṭaṅ t-ṅṅa*  
*Cārntu-varaṅ maraṅṅ mūṅṅ-alaṅ kaṭaiyē* (Tol. E. 1.)

that there are thirty primary *eluttū* from *a* to *ṅ* and three secondary *eluttū*, and in the second sūtra,

*Avaitām*  
*Kuṅṅiya l-ikaram kuṅṅiya l-ukaram*  
*Āylam-ṅṅa*  
*Muṭṭaṅ puḷḷiyu m-eluttō ṅ-ṅṅa.* (Tol. E. 2.)

that the three secondary *eluttū* are *kuṅṅiyal-ikaram*, *kuṅṅiyal-ukaram* and *āylam* which are denoted in script with dots. Does the word *eluttū* here denote sound or symbol? It evidently means sound for the following reasons:—(a) In the third sūtra

*Avaiṅṅu!*  
*A i u*

*Eo eṅṅu m-appā l-aintum*

*Ūr-aḷa p-icaikkuṅ kuṟṟeḷut t-eṅpa.* (Tol. E. 3.)

he says ' of them *a, i, u, e* and *o* sound one mātrā and are called *kuṟṟeḷuttū*: in the fourth sūtra,

*Ā ī ū*

*Ē ai*

*Ōau eṅṅu m-appā l-ēlum*

*Ir-aḷa p-icaikku neṭṭeḷut t-eṅpa.* (Tol. E. 4.)

the next seven *ā, ī, ū, ē, ai, o* and *au* sound two mātrās and are called *neṭṭeḷuttū*; in the eighth,

*Aukāra v-iṟuvāy-p*

*Pannī r-eḷuttu m-uyir-eṅa molīpa.* (Tol. E. 8.)

the twelve from *a* to *au* are called *uyir*; in the ninth,

*Nakāra v-iṟuvāy-p*

*Patineṅ ṅ-eḷuttu mey-y-eṅa molīpa.* (Tol. E. 9.)

the last eighteen *eḷuttū* with *ṅ* at the end are called *mey*; in the tenth,

*Mey-y-ō t-iyaiyīṅu m-uyir-īya ṟiriyā.* (Tol. E. 10.)

the nature of the vowel is not changed even when pronounced after a consonant; in the eleventh,

*Mey-y-i ṅ-aḷavē y-arai-y-eṅa molīpa.* (Tol. E. 11.)

the quantity of a consonant is half a mātrā; in the nineteenth,

*Valleḷut t-eṅpa ka-ca-ḷa ta-pa-ḷa.* (Tol. E. 19.)

*k, c, ḷ, t, p, ṟ* are *valleḷuttū* or voiceless consonant: in the twentieth,

*Melleḷut t-eṅpa ṅa-ṅa-ṅa na-ma-ṅa.* (Tol. E. 20.)

*ṅ, ṅ, ṅ, n, m, ṅ* are *melleḷuttū* or nasals; and in the twentyfirst,

*Iṭai-y-eḷut t-eṅpa ya-ra-la- va-ḷa-ḷa.* (Tol. E. 21.)

*y, r, l, v, ḷ, ḷ* are *iṭaiyeḷuttū* or semi-vowels. In all these sūtras, *eḷuttū* cannot but mean sound; for symbols cannot have quantity nor can they be classified as *val-l-iṅam*, *mel-l-iṅam* and *iṭai-y-iṅam*. Besides, in the whole *Nūṅmarapū*, the first section in *Eḷuttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam, he makes mention of words like *uruvu* (form) and *iyarḷkai* (nature) wherever he wants to denote symbols e.g. in the fifteenth sūtra,

*Mey-y-i ṅ-iyarkai puḷḷi-y-otū nilaiyal.* (Tol. E. 15.)

he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of the consonant is to be indicated by dots; in the sixteenth sūtra,

*Ekara okara-t t-iyarkai-y-u m-ayrē.* (Tol. E. 16.)

he says that the *iyarkai* or nature of *e* and *o* is the same; he says in the 14th sūtra

*Uḷḷeṅṅu puḷḷi y-uruvā kum-m-ē.* (Tol. E. 14).

that a dot within is its *uruvu* or form (of shortened *m*); the same is the case for vowel-consonants in the sūtra

*Puḷḷi y-illā v-ellā meyyum*

*Uru-v-uru v-āki y-akaramo ṭ-uyirttalum*

*Ēṅai y-uyirō t-uruvu-tirin t-uyirttalum*

*Ā-y-ā r-iyala v-uyirtta l-āyē* (Tol. E. 17.).

If then *eluttū* denotes sound, could Tolkāppiyāṅār who is so careful as to note the difference in the quantity and the nature between *i* and *ī* (shortened *i*), *u* and *ū* and who shows from his work especially the sections dealing with the classification and production of speech sounds intimate knowledge of Sanskrit Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini's grammar where it is clearly stated that the voiced consonants are produced when the *kaṅṭha* is closed (*i.e.*) when the vocal chords are very close to each other and voiceless when *kaṅṭha* is open (*i.e.*) when the vocal chords are far away from each other (*cf.* Tai. P. ii, 4 & 5), have failed to denote the difference between the voiceless consonants *k, c, ṭ, t, ṣ* and voiced consonants *g, j, ḍ, d* and *b* and mentioned them as *valliyam*? If the voiced sounds *g, j, ḍ, d,* and *b* were in existence then, could he have stated that the number of primary sounds was only thirty? Hence it is clear that at the time of Tolkāppiyāṅār the voiced consonant sounds did not exist in the Tamil Language. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement "this peculiarity is essentially inherent in the language and has been a characteristic principle of it from the beginning" cannot stand.

The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* and its commentator say that in *adbhava* words the consonant *k* is substituted for the four

Sanskrit consonants *k*, *kh*, *g* and *gh*.<sup>1</sup> This would not have been the case if *g* had already existed. All other grammarians including the Rev. Beschi say that there are only thirty or thirty-one primary sounds.

But what Dr. Caldwell says is found in the *spoken* Tamil of the modern days. What might be the reason for this? Is it due to the general phonological principle that voiceless consonants are made voiced when they are found between vowels or preceded by nasals; or is it due to the fact that the Sanskrit words like *naga* and *vandana* were written in Tamil script as *nakam* (நகம்) and *vantanam* (வந்தனம்) but pronounced as *nagam* and *vandanam* as in Sanskrit and then the same letters *க* and *ந* began to be pronounced under such conditions even in pure Tamil words as *g* and *d*. e. g. (அகம்) *agam* and (கந்தை) *landai*? It does not seem to be reasonable to accept the former alternative, because even now in Jaffna, such voiceless consonants are pronounced as voiceless and not voiced. Hence it becomes necessary to accept the second alternative.

2. *Whether it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil:*—Since I have shown that voiced consonants were absent from Tamil language in the earliest times, it is evident that they were not developed in Tamil. (Even in Malayalam there is difference in pronunciation between *añka* and *añga* though 'k' in *añka* is slightly voiced.

3. *Whether there was an imperative law that a sonant cannot commence a word, neither is a surd admissible in the middle except when doubled:*—Since I have proved that the voiced consonants were absent from the early Tamil language, and since no grammarian from Tolkāppiyāṇār to Civañāṇa-muṇivar has stated

1. *Muntiya-varrkkañkaḷ-aintiṇu-muṇṇ-ṇ-onṇiṇ mūṇṇ-aṭaṅkum.*

(V. Tat. 6.)

*Ka-ca-ṭa-ta-ṭa-v-ṇṇ-pavayro voṇṇṇaiyṇ kiṭappiṇum, urappiyum eṭuttum, kaṇṇaittum. mukkiṇum aintuvitamāka-c-collaṭṭaṭu kiṇṇa aintu varrkkañkaḷiṇum muṇṇṇṇaiya-k-kiṭappiṇṇāṇ collaṭṭaṭukiṇṇa voṇṇṇiṇkaṇṇṇē y-aṭaṇ piṇṇṇē niṇṇa mūṇṇreḷuttum aṭaṅkum. (V. Tat. 6, Comm.)*

this, it need not be discussed. But so far as the spoken Tamil of the modern days is concerned it holds good.

In this context it deserves to be mentioned that Dr. Caldwell and some modern scholars of Tamil seem to think that it is absolutely necessary to have the voiced consonants after the nasal of the same class<sup>1</sup> and the voiced consonant or spirant between vowels and it is difficult to pronounce them otherwise, i.e., *taṅkai*, *paṅcam*, *paṅgam* and *vantāy* should be pronounced as *taṅgai*, *paṅjam*, *paṅgam* and *vandāy* and *akam*, *icai*, *aṭai*, *atu*, *taṇu* as *ahan* or *agam*, *iṣai*, *aḍai*, *adu* and *tabu*. This view appears to be unsustainable. For, as Vendryes points out in his *Language*<sup>2</sup>, "Difficulty and ease of pronunciation are purely relative conception, doubtless quite definite to the speaker, but variable for each language. We cannot appreciate them without a thorough knowledge of the structure of the language. In fact the articulatory habits are at the root of the difficulty, so that a sound group which one people find difficult to pronounce may be quite easy for a neighbouring people."

The following table will show that there are examples in Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tulu where voiceless consonants are found after nasals and between vowels:—

Telugu.	Kanarese.	Malayalam.	Tulu.	Tamil.
(a) <i>iṅku</i>				<i>iṅcu</i> (to dry up)
<i>koṅki</i>				<i>koṅki</i> (hook)
<i>vaṅki</i>	<i>vaṅki</i>			<i>vaṅki</i> (armlet)
<i>kāṅke</i>	<i>kāke</i>			<i>kāṅkai</i> (heat)
<i>aṅce</i>	<i>aṅce</i>	<i>aṅcal</i>	<i>aṅcal</i>	<i>aṅcal</i>
			<i>aṅci</i> (thither)	<i>aṅkē</i> (there)

1. D. C. G. p. 142.

2. Cf. p. 60—*Language* by Vendryes translated by Paul Radin, Ph. D.

Telugu.	Kanarese.	Malayalam.	Tulu.	Tamil.
<i>kaṅṭa</i> (seeing)	<i>uṅṭu</i> (there is)			<i>'kaṅṭa</i> (having seen) <i>uṅṭu</i>
<i>enta</i> (how much)	<i>eṅṭu</i> (eight)			<i>eṅṭu</i> <i>enta</i> (what)
	<i>enta</i> (of what sort)			
	<i>kantu</i> (to go down)			<i>kantu</i> (to be spoiled)
<i>impu</i>	<i>impu</i>			<i>impu</i> (sweat-ness)
		<i>kāmpu</i>		<i>kāmpu</i> (stalk)
(b) <i>āṭa</i>	<i>āṭike</i>	<i>āṭuka</i>		<i>āṭṭam</i> (play)
<i>kāpu</i>	<i>kāpu</i>		<i>kāpu</i>	<i>kāppu</i> (protection)
<i>aṭuka</i> (loft in a house)				<i>aṭukku</i>
	<i>iṭukku</i> (narrowness)			<i>iṭukku</i>
			<i>ikara</i> (here)	<i>iṅkē</i>

The initial *c* in *caṅṭi* is pronounced not as *ś* in Tulu, but as *c* itself.

This clearly shows that there need be no hard and fast rule that the consonants that follow nasals or that are between vowels should become voiced in the Dravidian languages. But, at the same time, examples like *kuṅgu* (to sink) by the side of *kuṅku* (to sink) and *idi* (this) in Telugu, *āḍu* (to play) and *paḡa* (enmity) in Kanarese, *iḍu* (pledge) and *uṅḍe* (globe) in Tulu are found. This shows that there was a tendency in those languages to pronounce the voiceless consonants that followed nasals or that were between two vowels, as voiced. Since old Malayalam is almost Tamil, I have not given many examples from Malayalam here.

This change may have been due to the natural tendency of the people if we are able to find out such examples at a time when those languages were not influenced by Sanskrit. But, as far as we know at present, the earliest work in Telugu found out till now is said to be the *Bhāratam* by Nannaya which roughly belongs to the early part of the 11th century and the earliest inscription happens to be that of Kubja Viṣṇuwardhana of the 6th century. The earliest work in Kanarese that has been found out till now is the *Kavirājamārga* written about the 9th century, and the earliest reliable inscription, it is believed, does not go earlier than 6th century A. D.

During the 7th century we have *Tēvāraṁ* and *Nālāyirappirapantam* which clearly show the great influence of Sanskrit on Tamil. Hence it is more probable for the change to have crept into Tamil through analogy with the sounds of the borrowed words in Tamil written in Tamil characters.

4. *Whether one character was sufficient to express both classes of sounds:*—Dr. Caldwell assumes that the Tamil alphabet was introduced after the advent of the Sanskritists, who found one character sufficient to express both classes of sounds. If that be so, why should they have invented new symbols to express voiced consonants *g, j, ḡ, d* and *b* in Grantha script which they should have invented after the Tamils began to learn Sanskrit and in which almost all the symbols of the Tamil language, which, according to Gopinatha Rao, were adapted from Brāhmi script, were incorporated? Hence at the time when the Tamil script was newly invented, it did not have the voiced consonant sounds.

Therefore Dr. Caldwell's theory of Convertibility of Surds and Sonants can hold good only with reference to the spoken Tamil of the present day.

1.45. *C and J according to Dr. Caldwell:*—Dr. Caldwell says that the pronunciation of *c* is not *ś* but *c* in the lowest colloquial dialect and it is probably the ancient pronunciation of this letter which is retained by the lower classes. Even the higher classes in Tinnevely pronounce it even now as *c* and reference to the



sūtras on *Nūṅmarapū* of Tolkāppiyam mentioned above can clearly explain that his conjecture that it was the ancient pronunciation is really true.

As regards 'j' Dr. Caldwell says that "it is not used in correct Tamil; the same sound is sometimes admitted in the use of those Sanskrit derivatives in which the letter 'j' is found in Sanskrit". But in the spoken dialects of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, etc., it is freely used in pure Tamil words. Thus *mañcaḷ* is pronounced as *mañjaḷ*, *kañci* as *kañji*, etc.

1.46. *A point about the cerebral consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit*:—Dr. Caldwell says that 'Sanskrit has borrowed them from Dravidian languages for the following reasons:—(1) The lingual consonants are essential component elements of a large number of primitive Dravidian roots. (2) None of the lingual consonants has ever been discovered in any of the primitive languages which are related to Sanskrit. (3) Those consonants which Tamil has borrowed from Sanskrit within the period of existence of Dravidian literature have been greatly modified to accord with the Tamilian laws of sound and delicacy of ear. (4) Though Telugu has been more exposed to Sanskrit influence than Tamil, yet larger use is made of those sounds in Tamil than in Telugu'. (C. D. G. 148.)

Dr. Caldwell may be said to be right as regards his first two reasons. The third reason adduced by him seems to me not quite satisfactory; for Tamil evidently has to substitute some sounds for those of Sanskrit which are not found in it as *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*. The fourth is not after all a very strong reason. Besides, there are four other points that stand in the way of accepting his theory:—(1) The cerebral sounds in Sanskrit are produced by rounding the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate, while in Tamil they were produced by the tip of the tongue touching the front of the palate without its being rounded at the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār, though they are now pronounced exactly in the same way as in Sanskrit. If they had been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil, I do not know why the position of their articulation was changed. (2) Besides, they are found in Ṛgveda, the earliest



religious work in Sanskrit which is supposed to have been composed in the Indus Valley soon after the Aryans migrated there. (3) It has been enunciated by Fortunatov that *r*+dental remains unchanged, but in combination of *l* and a following dental, the *l* disappeared, and the dental was lingualised. Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck and other philologists except Brugman agree with his theory<sup>1</sup> and hence think that the cerebrals are a natural development. (4) Otto Jespersen too agrees with the same theory from another standpoint as is seen from his following statement: "According to a theory which is very widely accepted, the Dravidian languages exerted a different influence on the Aryan languages when the Aryans first set foot on Indian soil, in making them adopt the cacuminal (or inverted) sounds *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* with *ḍh, ṭh* which were not found in primitive Aryan. But even this theory does not seem to be quite proof against objections. It is easy to admit that natives accustomed to one place of articulation of their *d, t, n* will unconsciously produce the *d, t, n* of a new language they are learning in the same place; but then they will do it everywhere. Here, however, both Dravidian and Sanskrit possess pure dental *d, t, n* pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, besides cacuminal *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ*, in which it touches the gum or the front part of the hard palate. In Sanskrit we find that the cacuminal articulation occurs only under very definite conditions, chiefly under the influence of 'r'. Now, a trilled tongue-point 'r' in most languages, for purely physiological reasons which are easily accounted for, tends to be pronounced further back than ordinary dentals; and it is therefore quite natural that it should spontaneously exercise an influence on neighbouring dentals by drawing them back to its own point of articulation. This may have happened in India quite independently of the occurrence of the same sounds in other vernaculars<sup>2</sup>

1. Sanskrit Phonetics (English Edition by Dr. C. G. Uhlenbeck, section 44, p. 53).

2. It is worthy to be noted that it has already been mentioned that the Tamil *ṭ* and *ṇ* were not originally cacuminal but alveolar.

just as we find the same influence very pronouncedly in Swedish and in East Norwegian where *d, t, n, s* are cacuminal (supra-dental) in such words as *bord, kort, barn*, etc. According to Grandgent (*Naure Sprachen*, 2, 447) *d* in his own American English is pronounced further back than elsewhere before and after 'r' as in *dry, hard*; but in none of these cases need we conjure up an extinct native population to account for a perfectly natural development.<sup>1</sup>

From what has been mentioned above it may not be possible for us to accept the statement of M. J. Vinson that the cerebrals in the Aryan Languages of the north have been developed relatively at a recent date<sup>2</sup>.

1.47. *Secondary consonant: 1.471. Ancient period:* According to Tolkāppiyāṅār there is no secondary consonant.

1.472. *Medieval period:* The author of *Viracōliyam* does not mention any secondary consonant. The author of *Nēminātam* says that there are 16 secondary consonants consisting of 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 shortened nasals and shortened *y*, shortened *l*, shortened *v* and shortened *ḷ*. The author of *Naṅṅūl* says that there are 42 *orralaḷaḷai*<sup>3</sup> and three shortened *m*<sup>4</sup>, each of the former having one mātrā and each of the latter having  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mātrā<sup>5</sup>. Wherever two similar consonants come together for the sake of metre as the two 'l's in '*koll lēṟṟiṅ*

1. *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin* by Otto Jespersen, p. 196-7.

2. R cerebral En Dravidien, pp. 111 to 123. *Journal Asiatique*, Onzieme Serie Tome XIII, 1919.

3. *Na-ṅa-ṅa na-ma-ṅa va-ya-la-la v-āytam*  
*Aḷaḷaiṅ kuṟil-iṅai kuṟiṅ-ḷi ḷ-iṅai-kaṟai*  
*Mikalē y-avaṟṟiṅ kuṟi-y-ūm vēṟē.* (Na. 92.)

4. *Na-ṅa muṅ-ṅ-um vaḷkēṅ micai-yu-ma-k-kuṟukum.* (ibid. 96.)

5. *Mūṅṟū-uyiraḷaḷū iranṅām neṅil oṅṟē*  
*Kuṟilōṟū ai-au-k kuṟukkam oṟṟaḷaḷū*  
*Arai oṟṟū-i u-k kuṟukkam āytam*  
*Kāl kuṟaḷ maḷkēṅ āytam māttirai.* (ibid. 99.)

*maruḥḥuḥ ḥḍḥḥaya* ' (they are like the horns of war-bulls) (P.N. 4, 4), he takes them as one secondary sound having one full mātrā. As regards the shortened *m*, as in *ḥḍḥḥ* he divides it into three according to the consonant which precedes or follows it, which is not quite necessary. cf. 1.222 *supra*.

1.473. *Modern period*: The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* says that there are 11 *orḥaḥaḥetai* and one *makara-k-kuḥukkam* and agrees with Nannūlar as regards their quantity. Civañānamuṇivar agrees with Tolkāppiyaṇār.

Though Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions shortened *m* and says it has  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a mātrā<sup>1</sup>, he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant since it does not satisfy his definition of *cārḥeluttū*. Cf. 1.22. *supra*. *Orḥaḥaḥetai* is only two similar consonants placed side by side for the sake of metre. Hence he has not mentioned it as a secondary consonant. The opinion of Tolkāppiyaṇār seems to be sound.

1.48. *Initial, Final and Medial consonants in Tamil and Sanskrit words—Their Similarities and Dissimilarities*:—Tolkāppiyaṇār says that, in Tamil, a conjunct consonant cannot stand at the beginning of a word<sup>2</sup>, *k*, *t*, *n*, *ḥ*, *m* can stand initially being followed by any vowel<sup>3</sup>, *c* except when followed by *a*, *ai* and *au*<sup>4</sup>, *v* except when followed by *u*, *ū*, *o* and *ō*<sup>5</sup>, *ḥ* when followed by *ā*, *e* and *o*<sup>6</sup> and *y* when followed only by

1. *Arai-y-aḥḥaḥ kuḥukaḥ makara m-uḥaitṭē*  
*Ica-y-iḥa ḥ-arukun teriyūḥ kōlai.* (Tol. E. 13.)
2. *Uyir-mey y-allaḥa moḥi-muta l-ākā.* (ibid. 60.)
3. *Ka-ta-na pa-ma-v-eḥu m-ū-v-ain-t-eḥuttum*  
*Ellā v-uyiroḥuḥ cellumūr mutalē.* (ibid. 61.)
4. *Cakara-k kiḥaviyu m-avaḥḥḍ r-arḥḥē*  
*A-ai au-v-eḥu m-ūḥḥalaḥ kaḥaiyē.* (ibid. 62.)
5. *Uḥ oḥ v-eḥḥu nāḥkuyir*  
*Va eḥ ḥ-eḥuttotū varuta l-illai.* (ibid. 63.)
6. *Āe*  
*O-eḥu m-ū-v-uyir ḥakūrat t-urīya.* (ibid. 64.)

ā<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, the only consonants that can stand as the final member are *ñ, ṅ, n, m, v, y, r, l, v, l* and *l*<sup>2</sup>.

As regards the initial consonants, the author of Viracōliyam slightly differs from Tolkāppiyaṅār. He allows *ñ* when followed by 'a' also, allows *c* when followed by all vowels and allows *y* when followed by *a, ā, u, ū, o* and *au*<sup>3</sup>. The author of Nannūl agrees with the author of Viracōliyam and adds *ñ* also to the list<sup>4</sup> and one of its commentators gives *aññāṅam* as an example of the same; but *ñāṅam* does not seem to occur as a separate word in literature.

As regards the final consonants, the author of Viracōliyam differs from Tolkāppiyaṅār in omitting *ñ, n* and *v* from the list<sup>5</sup>. This is perhaps due to the fact that such words as *uriñ, porun* and *lev* became obsolete in his days. But Nannūlār agrees here with Tolkāppiyaṅār<sup>6</sup>. In modern times, words beginning with *ṭ, y, r* and *l* also are found; but all of them are words borrowed from other languages. E.g., *ṭaṅkā, ṭamāram, yanti-ram, yamaṅ, rāmaṅ, laṅkai*, etc.

Besides it is said that all consonants except *r* and *l* can be followed by the same consonants<sup>7</sup>. Some of them may also be followed by other consonants. For instance *ṭ* can be followed

1. *Ā-v-ḍ ṭ-allatū yakara mutalātū.* (ibid. 65.)
2. *Na-ṅa-na-ma ṅa-ya ra-la va-la-ḷa v-eyṅum*  
*A-p-pati ṅ-oyṅē puḷḷi y-iṅuti.* (ibid. 78.)
3. *Āvi-y-aṅaittuṅ ka-ca-to-na-ṅa-ma-v variyum-va-v-v-il*  
*Ēviya-v-eṅṅum-ya-v v-āṅū-ñā-n-nāṅkumel lū-v-ulakum*  
..... (V. C. 7.)
4. *Paṅṅi r-uyirum ka-ca-to-na-ṅa-ma-va-ya*  
*Na-ṅa-v-i r-aintuyir me-y-yu mol-i-mutat.* (Na. 102.)
5. *Īṅū-makara ṅakarāṅkaṅāmu m-iṅai-y-iṅattil*  
*Ēṅum-va-kara m-ol-int-aintum-īrain t-eḷil-uyirum*  
*Kūrun-tamiḷiṅu-k k-iṅṅeḷuttām-ey-par kḍi-vaḷai-yē.* (V. C. 8.)
6. *Āvi ṅa-ṅa-na-ma-ṅa ya-ra-la-va ḷa-ḷa-mey*  
*Cāyu m-ukara nālāṅu m-iṅē.* (Na. 107.)
7. *Mey-n-nilai cutti n-ellū v-eḷuttum*  
*Tam-muṅ ṅām-varāum ra-la-va-laṅ kaṅaiyē.* (Tol. E. 30.)

by *k*, *c* and *p*; *ṣ* by *k*, *c* and *p*; *l* by *k*, *c*, *p*, *y* and *v*; *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *p*, *y* and *v*; *ṅ* by *k*; *ṇ* by *c* and *y*; *ṣ* by *t*, *k*, *c*, *ṅ*, *p*, *m*, *y* and *v*; *n* by *t* and *y*; *m* by *p*, *y* and *v*; *ṣ* by *ṣ*, *k*, *c*, *ṅ*, *p*, *m*, *y* and *v*; *v* by *y*; *y*, *r*, and *ḷ* by *k*, *c*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *m*, *v*, *ṅ*, *y* and *ṅ*<sup>1</sup>.

Here it may be noted that Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya similarly gives a list showing the sounds in Sanskrit that can respectively stand as the initial and final members of single words and also those consonants which can follow other consonants:—The second and fourth of each varga, semi-vowels, fricatives except *visarga* and aspirate and the second varga do not stand as the final members of words<sup>2</sup>. The Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya allows *l* also as the final<sup>3</sup>. When we compare this with the final sounds at the end of words in Tamil, we see that, of the sounds common to both the tongues Tamil allows *ṅ*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* and *ḷ* as finals, while Sanskrit does not and that Sanskrit allows *k*, *ṅ*, *t*, *ḷ* and *p* which Tamil does not.

Similarly the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya says that *jihvāmūḷya*, *upadhmnāḷya*, *visarga*, *anusvāra jh*,<sup>4</sup> *ṅ*, *ḷ*, *ḷh*, *ḷ*, *ḷh*, *ṣ* cannot

- 
1. *Ta-ra-la-la v-eynum pulli munṣar-k*  
*Ka-ca-pa v-eynu mū-v-ḷut t-urīya.* (ibid. 23.)  
*Avṛṣuḷ*  
*La-ḷaḷkḷāṅ munṣar ya-va-v-un tḍṣum.* (ibid. 24.)  
*Na-ṅa-ṅa-na ma-ya-v-eynum pulli munṣar-t*  
*Tatta m-icaiḷ-ottaya nilaiyē.* (ibid. 25.)  
*Avṛṣuḷ*  
*Na-ṅaḷkḷāṅ munṣar-k*  
*Ka-ca-ṅa-pa ma-ya-v-a-v v-ḷu m-urīya.* (ibid. 26.)  
*Na-na-ma-va v-eynum pulli munṣar*  
*Yaḷkḷā ṅiṣṣay mey-ṣeṣ ṣ-ṣṣē.* (ibid. 27.)  
*Maḷkḷāṅ pulli-muṣ va-v-v-un tḍṣum.* (ibid. 28.)  
*Ya-ra-la v-eynum pulli munṣar*  
*Mutalā k-ḷuttu ṅakaramoṭṭu tḍṣum.* (ibid. 9.)
  2. *Uṣmāntahstharisḍṣma-cakḷaravargū nāntam yāntyanatra visar-*  
*janīyāt.* (R. V. P. 12. 1.)
  3. A. V. P. 1. 5.
  4. Classical Sanskrit allows *jh* as an initial member. cf. *jhaṭiti*.

stand as initial members of words<sup>1</sup>. But Tamil allows *ḥ* as in the words *ḥālam*, *ḥaṇṇū* as the initial member.

Again the same Prātiśākhya says that, in the middle of words, the second, third and fourth sounds of the five vargas are not followed by the same sounds<sup>2</sup>. But this may appear to be wrong since such words as *lajjā*, *majjā* are found in classical Sanskrit. But it seems they are not found in Ṛgvēda. *l* is not followed by *r*<sup>3</sup>; *v* is not followed by the first four sounds of each of the five vargas, but is preceded by them<sup>4</sup>; the fricatives are not followed by the second or fourth sound of each varga<sup>5</sup>; *r* is not followed by *r*<sup>6</sup>; *h* does not follow an explosive<sup>7</sup>; *y* is not followed by *l* or explosives, but is preceded by them<sup>8</sup>.

Here the points to be noted are the following:—Tamil allows all explosives except *ḥ* and *ṣ* after *y* while Sanskrit does not. On the other hand, Tamil does not allow *y* after the stops, while Sanskrit allows it. But both Sanskrit and Tamil agree in not allowing *r* to be followed by *r*, *l* to be followed by *r* and *v* to be followed by *h*, *c*, *ḥ*, *l* and *p*.

It seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṇār has followed the Prātiśākhyas here also as in the case of mentioning initial and final vowels.

1.5. *Secondary sounds which are classed by Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants*:—1.51. *Ancient period*: Tolkāppiyaṇār mentions *āylam* as a secondary sound but does not say whether it is a vowel or a consonant.

1. *Ḥkāra-ḥkārāu paramardhamūṣmaṇām nādiṇ takārūd-avarē ca sapta.* (R. V. P. 12, 2.)
2. *Nānyānyēna madhyamūḥ sparśavargūḥ saṇyujyāntē.*  
(ibid. 12. 3.)
3. *Na lakārēṇa rēphoḥ.* (ibid. 12, 4.)
4. *Sparśair-vakārē na parair-anuttamāḥ.* (ibid. 12, 5.)
5. *Tathā tēṣām ghṛṣiṇaḥ sarvathāṣmabhīḥ.* (ibid. 12, 6.)
6. *Na rēpho rēphēna.* (ibid. 12, 8.)
7. *Na sparśāir-ūṣmā prathamāḥ parassan.* (ibid. 12, 10.)
8. *Lakāra-sparśāir na yakāra uttarāḥ.* (ibid. 12, 14)

1.52. *Medieval period*:—The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* mentions none in this category. The author of *Nēminātam* mentions 217 secondary sounds under this category consisting of 216 vowel-consonants and one ‘shortened *āyṭam*’. The author of *Nannūḷ* adds the unshortened *āyṭam* to the above list, and he divides it into eight. I think it would have been much better if he had divided it into six according as it is succeeded by one of *k, c, ṭ, ṭ, ḷ* and *ṛ* without adding two more as *ṣ* in *aṣṭū* and *aṣṭaiya* where it evidently precedes one of the above six consonants.

1.53. *Modern period*.—The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with *Nannūḷār* except in discarding the shortened *āyṭam*, on the authority of *Tolkāppiyaṇār* who has not stated that the *āyṭam*, which is substituted for *l* and *ḷ* in the sandhi *al + ṭṭai = aṣṭṭai* and *muḷ + ṭṭū = muṣṭū*, is shortened.

1.54. It has already been mentioned in 1.222 *supra* that it is a mistake to have included vowel-consonants among secondary sounds and that they are not at all unitary sounds. As regards the shortened *āyṭam*, I fully agree with the author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*. Hence of the secondary sounds which are classed by the Tamil grammarians neither as vowels nor as consonants that which is to be dealt with here is only *āyṭam*.

1.55. ‘*Āyṭam*’:—1. 551. In the ancient period it appears that this was not included in the alphabet between vowels and consonants, since *Tolkāppiyaṇār* says in the first sūtra ‘*Akara mutal ṇakaraviṇvāy (eḷuttu) muṇṇṇai pa*’ (which means thirty letters from *a* to *ṇ*) and mentions *āyṭam* in the second sūtra. But in the medieval period, it was included between them as it is now, since the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* says so<sup>1</sup>.

Dr. Caldwell has written it along with the vowels and mentions in page 353 that it is ‘a sort of guttural’; but whether it is a vowel or a consonant or neither must be carefully considered.

1.552. *Ancient period*:—*Tolkāppiyaṇār* says that *āyṭam* is one of the secondary sounds and appears in the middle of words

1. *Arinta-v-eḷuttam-muṇṇai ṇaṇṇiraiyāyika lūya-kam-muṇṇai*  
*Piṇṇai-patiyettū meṇ-natū-v-āyṭam* . . . . . (V. C. 1.)



after a short vowel and before a voiceless consonant followed by a vowel<sup>1</sup>, and also its place of production is determined by that of the consonant in whose company it is<sup>2</sup>. It is classed by him neither as a vowel nor as a consonant. This is perhaps due to Pāṇini not having classed *jihvāmūliya* or *upadhmnāniya* as a vowel or a consonant.

1.553. *Medieval and Modern periods*:—Nēminātam says that it is one of the 31 primary sounds<sup>3</sup>; but this is wrong. In Naṅṅūl, the grammar of the medieval period and in Ilakkaṇa-vaḷakkam of the modern period<sup>4</sup> it is said to be an open sound and its place of production is the head<sup>5</sup>. This is quite contrary to what is said in Tolkāppiyam. How can it be an open sound? Its pronunciation is just like that of the spirant<sup>6</sup> *jihvāmūliya* in *kaḥ karōti* when it is followed by *k*, and the spirant *upadhmnāniya* in *kaḥ phalati* when it is followed by *p*. In Tamil it can come even before *c*, *t*, *l* and *ṛ* which is not the case in Sanskrit. It must be pronounced by allowing the air to reach that part of the vocal organs where the following consonant is produced and suddenly arresting it so that a part of the air may escape with friction as in the case of fricatives. Hence Tolkāppiyaṅār says that its place of articulation is that of the letter in whose company it is. This must evidently be the consonant that follows it. This statement is almost similar to what is said in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya as regards *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h*, *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmnāniya*<sup>7</sup>.

- 
1. *Kuṣṭiyatay munṇa r-āyta-p pulli*  
*Uyiroṭu puṇarnta-val lāyay micaittē.* (Tol. E. 38.)
  2. *Cārntu-vari y-allatū tamakkīyal pila-v-eyat*  
*Tērntu-veḷi p paṭutta v-ēṇai mūṇṇun*  
*Tattān cārpiṇ piṇaṇṇoṭu civaṇi*  
*Oṭta kāṭciyir ṇam-m-iyal p-iyalum.* (ibid. 101.)
  3. *Āvi y-akara-muta l-āyiranṭā m-āyram-iṭai*  
*Mēvum.....* (N. N. E. 1.)
  4. *Āytaneñ cāciyi y-ānkūṇ tiyalum.* (I. V. 13.)
  5. *Āytak kiṭan-talai y-ānkū muyaṇci.* (Na. 87.)
  6. cf. *Uttarē oṣṭā ūṣmāṇaḥ.* (R. V. P. i, 12.)
  7. *Parē ṣaḍ ūṣmāṇaḥ.* (Tāi. P. i, 9.) and *Sparśasthūnēsu ūṣmāṇa*



Thus in pronouncing & in *caḥkū*, *kaḥcū*, *muḥḥitū*, *aḥtū*, *aḥpōlam*, *kaḥḥitū*, the air must respectively be allowed to reach the soft palate, middle of the hard palate, the front portion of the hard palate, the teeth, the lips and the top of the hard palate. This is also borne out by the fact that it is replaced by a consonant similar to its succeeding consonant; *muḥḥitū* is changed to *muḥḥitū<sup>1</sup>*, *kaḥḥitū* to *kaḥḥitū<sup>2</sup>*, *oruḥḥatū* + *oruḥḥū* to *oruḥḥattonḥū<sup>3</sup>*, and so on. Besides, one can see from euphony in the expression *kūḥḥa-k-koḥḥēr* (Pattu. 236, 633) & cannot be guttural, but only a spirant produced where ḥ is produced. It is therefore a kind of arrested voiceless spirant resembling in its sound the first part of the affricatæ reversed and hence it was not in the ancient and medieval periods a guttural as Dr. Caldwell thinks, nor is it an open sound produced at the head as many of the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods think<sup>4</sup>.

But it is now pronounced in all cases in the same way as if it were before 'k'. It is evident however that it does not conform to etymology; for it is not generally possible to have a guttural spirant or fricative before a palatal, cerebral, dental or labial consonant. The forms *muḥḥitū* and *kaḥḥitū* are respectively formed by the combination of two words *muḥḥ + itū* and *kaḥḥ + itū*; in the former case the initial *t* of *itū* is cerebralised by the influence of the preceding cerebral *ḥ*, and *ḥ* is correspondingly changed to & by being assimilated to *t*. Can the sound assimilated to a cerebral be a guttural? Similarly in the latter case the

*ānupūrvyēṇa*. (Tai. P. 2 44.) and *Jihvāmūlīyaḥ kavargasthānē*  
 ..... *upadhāmūyaḥ pavargasthānē*. (Tai. P. 2, 44, Comm.)

1. *Āyta nilaiyalum varai-nilai ḥ-iḥḥē*  
*Takaram varūṇṇ kūlai ḥ-ḥṇa*. (Tol. E. 400.)
2. *Takaram varu-vali ḥ-āyta nilaiyalum*  
*Pukariṇ ḥ-ḥṇamḥār pulamai ḥḥrē*. (ibid. 370.)
3. *Oruḥḥā tūti-muḥḥ ḥ-oruḥḥu-muta l-oruḥḥṇ*  
*Eṇṇu m avai-ḥ-ūr piḥavu m-eytiḥ*  
*Āyta m-āliya-ḥ-ḥṇ tākun ta-ḥ-ḥ-ē*. (Na. 196.)
4. *Āyta-k k-iḥḥan-talai ḥ-āṇkū muḥḥarḥi*  
 ..... (Na. 87.)

initial *l* of *litú* is changed to cerebral *r* by the influence of the preceding *l* and consequently *l* is changed to *ǣ* by being assimilated to *r*; nowhere is a guttural seen in Tamil words before ' *r* '.

I cannot definitely find out how and when this unetymological pronunciation of *ǣ* came into existence. But I may say that it may have come after the 8th or 9th century A. D., since the word *iydelúdi*<sup>1</sup> or *isdelúdi* is found in line 152 of the Vēlvikuḍi Grant published in Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XVII Part VII which shows that *ǣ* before *d* was pronounced like *y* at that time. If the dental spirant is carelessly pronounced, it may almost resemble ' *y* '. But since in most of the simple words where it occurs it is followed by the guttural, possibly the guttural sound was generalised throughout<sup>2</sup>. Owing to this modern pronunciation of *ǣ*, one symbol ' *ḳ* ' is being used by the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University<sup>3</sup>.

Another point deserves to be noted as regards the origin of *āyṭam*. It is not found in Telugu and Canarese, nor in pure

1. The word in the grant in Tamil script should be இயல்முடி. I think it would have been pronounced then as *iytelúti* though it is transliterated in the Epigraphica Indica as *iydelúdi*.

2. <i>aǣkam</i>	<i>aǣkaram</i>	<i>aǣkal</i>	<i>aǣkú</i>
<i>aǣkēyam</i>	<i>aǣkēy</i>	<i>aǣtú</i>	<i>aǣpǣtam</i>
<i>iǣtú</i>	<i>eǣkam</i>	<i>eǣkú</i>	<i>kaǣcú</i>
<i>kaǣrú</i>	Compound words like <i>muǣtítú</i> , <i>kaǣrítú</i> , etc.		

3. Its definition in the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras that it is ' the 13th letter of the Tamil alphabet occurring only after a short initial letter and before a hard consonant as *aǣkam*, and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant is defective in two ways :—' after a short initial letter ' must be changed to ' after a short vowel ' ; ' and pronounced sometimes as a vowel and sometimes as a consonant ' must be changed to ' and is a fricative ; but mentioned by the Tamil Grammarians neither as a vowel nor as a consonant ' . Hence Dr. Beschi's statement '*āyṭam-enṟatu itukuri-p-peyar, mutalēuttu muppatiṅ enṟallatu-vēṟāy niṟṟalāṅum uyirpǣla-t taṅgittoli-yātumāy meypǣla uyir-ēṟappēṟātumāy mutal-ēluttāntaṅmai eṭṭāmaiṟūṅum iru-mariwāṅum varum-ēluttai cārntolittalāṅum cārpeṭuttiṅ enṟā-yiṅa*' deserves to be noted. (To. V. 13, Comm.)

Malayālam words. Even in Tamil it is not an indispensable letter since it can be replaced by its succeeding letter. Besides, its sound before *k* and *p* respectively agrees with that of visarga before a guttural and a labial (i.e.) *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya*. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar writes in his article on 'Tolkāppiyāṅṅārum Puḷḷiyēḷuttum' in page 153 Vol. XXV of Centamiḷ published by the Tamil Sangam at Madura that in ancient times *āytam* was represented by *visarga*. Hence it seems to me that the visarga which is used before a guttural and a labial as *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* was borrowed from Sanskrit and extended in its use before all the voiceless consonants in Tamil though Dr. Caldwell says that it is a peculiar Tamil letter. (C. D. G. p. 353.)

I am glad to find recently that M. J. Vinson has written in 1916<sup>1</sup> that the extraordinary form of *āytam* is related to the visarga of which it is, without doubt, only an adaptation, though he seems to be confronted with the difficulty from the statement of Tamil grammarians on the authority of Nannūḷ that its origin is in the head and is pronounced with the mouth fully open. This clearly shows that the Tamil Pandits with whom he came in contact with had ignored Tolkāppiyam. If they had thought of that work, they would certainly have told the learned professor that its origin depends upon the sounds in whose company it appears (Tol. E. 101) and then he might easily have inferred that, since it follows a vowel and is followed by a voiceless explosive consonant, it could not be a completely open sound. Besides if he had noted that *āytam* was represented by *visarga* in earlier days<sup>2</sup>, it would have strengthened his inference to a considerable extent.

He derives the word *āytam* from the Sanskrit word *āyudha* and also states that he did not know any example of *āytam* out-

1. 'Sur un caractere Singulier Dans L'alphabet Tamoul in Journal Asiatique Onzieme Serie Tome VII, 1916, p. 343.

2. *Tolkāppiyāṅṅārum Puḷḷiyēḷuttum* by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, p. 153, Centamiḷ, Vol. XXV.

side the grammars; the former point is disproved by the opinion of the late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar noted below. As for the latter, many examples are found in Sangam works. cf. *paṅṅuḷi maṅṅaliyūm* (P. N. 9, 11.): *iṅṅiyām iranta paṅṅicil aṅṅirūḷiṅ* (P. N. 145. 8): *eṅṅuru viḷuḷḷuṅ* (P. N. 233. 7.): *yāṅkaṅṅuṅṅeṅa* (P. N. 319. 4).

Similarly, the Rev. Dr. Pope is of opinion that 'it may be an imitation of Sanskrit visarga and it is used in poetry only.' (cf. P. H. T. L. p. 13.) But now it is used in prose also. For instance, the word *aṅṅū* and *iṅṅū* are used if they are followed by words commencing with a vowel, as *aṅṅū iṅṅē illai*, etc.

The late Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar said in one of his lectures delivered in 1925 under the auspices of the Teachers' Guild, Madras, that there is coincidence between the term *cārṇeḷuttū* applied to *āyṅam* in Tamil Grammar and the term *paṅṅāṅṅitāṅ* applied to *jihvāmūḷiṅya* and *uḷaḷḷmāṅiṅya* in Pāṅṅiṅya-ṅikṅā, and hence the word *āyṅam* is the tamilised form of *āṅṅṅitā*.



## 2. SANDHI.

2.1. 'Avoidance of hiatus and assimilation are the leading principles on which the rules of sandhi are based'<sup>1</sup>.

2.11. *Ancient Period*: 2.111. *Classification*: Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies the nature of sandhi into two kinds, one having change in sounds and the other having no change<sup>2</sup>. The former is of three kinds:—*meypīṭātāl*<sup>3</sup> or assimilation, *mikutāl* or insertion and *kunṇāl* or elision<sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup>. And the latter is called *iyalṭū*. As regards insertion, it is a peculiarity with Tamil, as Tolkāppiyāṇār

1. M. V. G. 20.

2. *Avaiṭṭam*

*Nirutta colli n-irā keluttoṭū*  
*Kurittu-varu kīlavī mutalēlut t-iyaiya-p*  
*Pevaroṭū peyarai-p puṇarkkuṅ kālum*  
*Pevaroṭū toḷilai-p puṇarkkuṅ kālun*  
*Toḷiloṭū peyarai-p puṇarkkuṅ kālun*  
*Toḷiloṭū toḷilai-p puṇarkkuṅ kālum*  
*Mūṇṇē tiripīṭa v-ṇṇē y-iyalpeṇa*  
*Āṅkan nūṅkē molīpuna r-iyalṭē.* (Tol. E. 109).

3. Assimilation and substitution are both taken as assimilation.

4. *Avaitām*

*Meypīṭi tātaṅ mikutāl kunṇāl-eyṇū*  
*Iv-veṇa molīpa tiriyu m-āṇē.* (Tol. F. 110.)

5. It seems possible that the classification of sandhi into four and their names are adapted mostly from those found in Prātiśākhya. *Meypīṭātāl*, *mikutāl*, *kunṇāl* and *iyalṭū* respectively are close translation of the words *vikāra* or *varṇavikāra*, *āgama*, *lōpa* and *prakṛti* which are found in the following quotations:—

*Vaṇṇasya vikāra lōpāu* (Tai. P. i. 56.)

*Vināśō lōpaḥ* (Tai. P. i. 27.)

*Aḥkāra āgama vikāri lōpiṇām* (Tai. p. i. 23.)

*Tamiti vikāraḥ* (S. Y. V. P. i, 133.)

says, that the *cāriyai* or the flexional increments are generally inserted between the base of the noun and the case suffix<sup>1</sup> on the one hand, and between the verbal base and the verbal termination on the other. He then classifies sandhi into *vēṟṟumai-p-puṇarcci* or case-relation sandhi and *alvali-p-puṇarcci* or non-case-relation sandhi according as the two words which undergo change in sandhi stand in case-relation to each other or not.<sup>2</sup>

2.112. *Treatment of the same by Tolkāppiyāṇār*: He treats in *uruṇiyal* the *cāriyai* or flexional increments that are inserted between the base of the noun and the case-suffix and in the latter half of *puṇariyal*, the special changes that take place in sandhi between the final member of the base and the initial member of the flexional increment; in *tokai-marapu*, he generally deals with the changes which the initial member of the 'following word'<sup>3</sup>

*Tēvētīyāgamah* (S. Y. V. P. i, 137.)

*Varnasyādarśanam lōpaḥ* (S. Y. V. P. i, 141.)

*Prakṛtyā padāntīyah* (S. Y. V. P. iii, 90.)

*Pragṛhyaśca prakṛtyā* (A. V. P. iii, 33.)

*Prakṛtyantūh padamavyaparē* (P. 6. 1, 115.)

*Adarśanam lōpaḥ* (P. 1, 1, 60.)

*Lōpāgama varṇavikārajñōhi samyak śabdāñ jñānāti* (M. B. 11 15.)

As regards the term *kuṇṇal*, Tolkāppiyāṇār seems to have incorporated the meaning of *lōpa* as *vināśa* as mentioned in Taittirīya Prātisākhya and not *adarśanam* as mentioned in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī or Śukla Yajurveda Prātisākhya, and as regards *meypīṇitātal*, he has translated the word *vikāra* or *varṇavikāra* found in Prātisākhyas and not *ādēśa* mentioned in Pāṇini's sūtras in 'ādēśa pratyaya' (P. 8. 3. 59).

1. *Niṟutta colluṁ kuṇṇittu-varu kiṟaiyūm*

*Aṟai-yoṟū lōṇṇiṇṇum puṇar-nilai-k k-urīya.* (Tol. E. 111.)

It seems to me that this is due to making the syllable containing the oblique case suffix so heavy that it must be clearly pronounced.

2. *Vēṟṟumai kuṇṇitta puṇar-mōḷi nilaiyūm*

*Vēṟṟumai y-alvali-p puṇar-mōḷi nilaiyūm*

*Eluttē cāriyai y-āyiru paṇṇi*

*Oḷukkal valiya puṇarūṁ kōlai.* (Tol. E. 113.)

3. If sandhi takes place between two words, the former is called by Tamil Grammarians, *nilaimōḷi* and the latter, *varumōḷi*. I have, in

undergoes, and the final member of the 'standing word,' etc. In *uṅṅir-mayaṅkiyal* and *puḷḷi-mayaṅkiyal* he respectively deals with the sandhi which takes place when the final members of the standing words are vowels or consonants. Since *kuṟṟiyalukaram* is a peculiarity of Dravidian languages and the changes that take place in sandhi when the final member of the standing word is *u* are different from those that take place when it is *ū*, the latter are separately treated in the last section.

When two words, one ending in a vowel and the other beginning with a vowel come together, it is stated that no one is prevented from writing between them an *uṅṅam-paṭu-mey* or an intervocalic consonant that suits them<sup>1</sup>. This shows that it was not compulsory in his time to insert *y*, *v*, etc. between two vowels as it was at the time of the later grammarians. *This is borne out by the absence of uṅṅam-paṭumey in some places in some inscriptions*<sup>2</sup> & <sup>3</sup>. Nor does *Tolkāppiyāṅār* state what such *uṅṅam-paṭu-mey* is.

I will now deal in detail, with (1) the inserted flexional suffixes, (2) the changes in sandhi in such cases, (3) the changes which the initial consonant of the following word undergoes (4) the changes when the final member of the standing word is a vowel other than *kuṟṟiyalukaram* (5) the changes when the final member of the standing word is a consonant and (6) the changes when the final member of the standing word is 'i'.

#### 2.1121. *The Inserted flexional suffixes*<sup>4</sup>.

this thesis, translated them literally as *standing word* and *following word* respectively.

1. *Ellā molikkū m-uṅṅir-varu vaḷiyē*

*Uṅṅam-paṭu mey-y-i v-uruvu-koḷal varaiyār.* (Tol. E. 141.)

2. Note that in the compound *mā-irumperum buṅṅar kūviri*, there is no *uṅṅam-paṭumey* between 'ā' of *mā* and 'i' of *irum*. (I. A. Vol. 22 p. 70-M. M. P.)

3. *Malar maṅṅai-oḍu* (line 46); *pū viri-um* (line 93); *kūviri-iṅ* (line 93); *maṅṅi-imaikkum* (line 81) of Ep. I. Vol. XVII, Part VII, V. G.

4. The sūtras dealing with these are found in *urupīyal-Sūtras* 174-203.



<i>Final Member of the Base.</i>	<i>Flexional increment inserted.</i>
<i>General rule:</i>	
<i>a, ā, u, ū, ē, au</i>	<i>iy</i> (e.g. <i>viḷa + ai = viḷa-v-iy-ai</i> )
<i>Exceptions:</i>	
<i>a</i> in <i>ḥalla</i>	<i>vayru</i> also (e.g. <i>ḥallavayrai</i> )
<i>ā</i> of interrogative <i>yā</i>	Do. (e.g. <i>yāvayrai</i> )
<i>a</i> & <i>ā</i> (of names of trees)	<i>attu</i> also (in the 7th case)
<i>u</i> in <i>atu, itu, utu</i>	<i>ay</i> also, when the final <i>u</i> is dropped. (e.g. <i>atu + ai = atu + ay + ai = atayai</i> )
<i>General rule:</i>	
<i>ai</i> of <i>avai, ivai, uvai</i>	<i>vayru</i> also (e.g. <i>avaiyayrai</i> )
<i>ai</i> of interrogative <i>yā</i>	Do. (e.g. <i>yāvayrai</i> )
<i>i</i> of <i>nī</i>	<i>i</i> is shortened to <i>i</i> and <i>y</i> is inserted (e.g. <i>nīyayrai</i> )
<i>ō</i>	<i>oy</i> (e.g. <i>kō oyai</i> ) <sup>1</sup>
<i>ñ, n</i>	<i>iy</i> (e.g. <i>urīñ + ai = urīñiyai</i> )
<i>v</i> of <i>av, iv, uv</i>	<i>vayru</i> (e.g. <i>avayrai</i> ) <sup>2</sup>
<i>v</i> of <i>tev</i>	<i>iy</i> (e.g. <i>teviyayrai</i> )
<i>General rule:</i>	
<i>m</i>	<i>attu</i> and sometimes <i>iy</i> . (e.g. <i>maram + ai = maratṭai; urumiyai</i> )
<i>m</i> of <i>num</i>	no insertion; but <i>m</i> is doubled. (e.g. <i>num-m-ai</i> )
<i>m</i> of <i>tām, nām</i> and <i>yām</i>	<sup>3</sup> no insertion; but <i>ā</i> is shortened in the first two cases and <i>yā</i> is changed to <i>e</i> in the third case and <i>m</i> is doubled. (e.g. <i>tam-mai, nam-mai, em-mai</i> )
<i>m</i> of <i>ellām</i>	<i>vayru</i> when it refers to neuter nouns and <i>nam</i> when it refers to <i>nyartiyai</i> , before the case-suffix and <i>um</i> after the case-suffix. (e.g. <i>ellām + ai = ellāvayrayum</i> or <i>ellānammayum</i> )

1. This is a case where *hiatus* is allowed.

2. *av, iv, uv* are neuter demonstrative plurals.

3. This shows that the accent is possible on the case-suffix.



<i>m</i> of <i>ellārum</i> (3rd person) and of <i>ellirum</i> (2nd person)	<i>am</i> and <i>um</i> respectively; but the final <i>um</i> is taken after case-suffix. (e.g. <i>ellārum + ai = ellārlammaiyum</i> , <i>ellirum + ai = ellirummaiyum</i> )
<i>y</i> of <i>tāy</i> and <i>yāy</i>	no increment; but <i>ā</i> is shortened to <i>a</i> , <i>yā</i> is changed to <i>e</i> and <i>y</i> is doubled. (e.g. <i>taṅṅai</i> , <i>caṅṅai</i> )
<i>ṅ</i> of <i>alay</i> and <i>pulay</i>	<i>attu</i> or <i>iṅ</i>
<i>ḷ</i> of <i>ēḷ</i>	<i>aṅ</i> (e.g. <i>ēḷaṅai</i> ) <sup>1</sup>
<i>General rule:</i>	
<i>ū</i>	<i>iṅ</i> (e.g. <i>nākiṅai</i> )
<i>Exceptions:</i>	
<i>ū</i> following a long vowel	generally no insertion; but the final consonant is doubled. (e.g. <i>yāṭū + ai = yāṭṭai</i> ; sometimes <i>yāṭṭiṅai</i> also.)
<i>ū</i> at the end of words denoting number.	(e.g. <i>oṅṅai</i> .)
<i>ū</i> in <i>oruṣāṭū</i> , <i>iruṣāṭū</i> , etc.	<i>āy</i> , and <i>aṭū</i> is dropped. (e.g. <i>oruṣāyai</i> )
<i>ū</i> of <i>yāṭū</i> , <i>aṭū</i> , <i>iṭū</i> & <i>uṭū</i> .	<i>aṅ</i> , but <i>ā</i> is dropped (e.g. <i>yāṭaṅai</i> , <i>aṭaṅai</i> )
<i>ū</i> at the end of words denoting directions before the seventh case-suffix.	No insertion; but 'ū' with the preceding consonant is dropped. (e.g. <i>vaṭakkū + kaṅ = vaṭakkaṅ</i> )

In the last sūtra he says that, if other increments are used in literature, we will have to take them also.

2.1122. *The changes which the flexional increments undergo in Sandhi:*<sup>2</sup>

(a) *i* of *iṅ* is optionally dropped after *ā*. (e.g. *ā + iṅ + ai = āṅai*; also *āviṅai*.)

1. The original *ēḷ* meaning seven is now pronounced by adding *ū* at the end as *ēḷū*, although *ū* cannot follow *ḷ* according to Tol. E. 36.

2. The sūtras under this heading are all found in *puṅṅariyal* of *Tolkāppiyam* (121, 123 to 127, 129 to 132 and 134).

(b) *v* of *varṛu* is dropped after *avai*, *ivai*, *uvai*. (e.g. *avas + varṛu + ai = avai-y-arṛai*.)

(c) *ṅ* of *iṅ* is changed to *ṛ* before *ku*, the fourth case-suffix. (e.g. *viḷa-v-iṅ-ku = viḷavṛkū*.)

(d) *ṅ* of *āṅ* is changed to *ṛ* when it is preceded by a word denoting star and is followed by a word beginning with a voiceless consonant. (e.g. *paraṅi + āṅ + koṅḷāy = paraṅi-y-āṛ-koṅḷāy*.)

(e) *a* of *attu* is dropped after *a*. (e.g. *makam + attu + kai = maka + attu + kai = makattu-k-kai*.)

(f) *i* of *ikku* is dropped after *i* and *ai* (e.g. *āṭikku-k-koṅḷāy; cittiraikku-k-koṅḷāy*)

(g) *ku* of *akku* is dropped if it is followed by a voiceless consonant (e.g. *tamiḷ + akku + kūttū = tamiḷ-ak-kūttū*)

(h) *m* of *am* is assimilated to *n̄*, *n̄* and *n* when it is respectively followed by *k*, *c*, and *t*.

(i) *m* of *am* is dropped if it is followed by a nasal or a semi-vowel. (e.g. *puḷṛyaṅṅēri*.)

(j) *iṅ* is dropped before the case suffix *iṅ*.

(k) The consonant preceding *attu* and *varṛu* is dropped and that which follows is doubled if it is a voiceless consonant. (e.g. *kalam + attu + kuṛai = kalattu-k-kuṛai*.)

2.1123. *The Changes which the initial consonant of the following word undergoes.*

<sup>1</sup>(a) *t* and *n* which follow *l* and *y* are respectively changed to *ṛ* and *ṅ* (e.g. *kal + lītū = kaṛṛītū*; *pon + nayrū = poṅṅayrū*, etc.)

<sup>2</sup>(b) *t* and *n* which follow *ṅ* and *ḷ* are respectively changed to *ḷ* and *ṅ*. (e.g. *maṅ + lītū = maṅḷītū*; *maṅ + nayrū = maṅṅayrū*, etc.)

2.1124. *The Changes when the final member of the Standing word is a vowel other than 'u',<sup>3</sup>*

1. *La-ṅa veṅṅa-varūm puḷḷi muṅṅar-t*

*Tana v-eṅṅa-varir ṅa-ṅa-v-ā kum-m-ā.* (Tol. E. 150.)

2. *Na-ḷa-v-eṅ puḷḷi-muṅ ḷa-ṅa-v-eṅ-t iṅṅum.* (ibid. 151)

3. The sūtras under this heading are found in *uyirmayāṅkiyal* of Tolkāppiyam (sūtras 204 to 296).

<i>Final member of the standing word.</i>	<i>Initial member of the following word.</i>	<i>Change in sandhi.</i>
‘ A ’		
<i>Non-case-relation sandhi:</i>		
<i>a</i> (of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>viḷa + kuṟitū = viḷa-k-kuṟitū.</i> )
<i>a</i> (of verbal participles, particles denoting comparison, <i>eṇa</i> and <i>āṅka</i> and demonstrative roots)	do	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>a-k-koṟṟaṇ.</i> )
<i>a</i> (demonstrative root)	<i>ñ, u, m</i>	<i>ñ, u, m</i> are respectively inserted (e.g. <i>a-ñ-ñāṇ.</i> )
Do.	<i>y, v</i>	<i>v</i> is inserted (e.g. <i>a + yāḷ = a-v-yāḷ.</i> )
Do.	any vowel	<i>v</i> is inserted (e.g. <i>a + ilai = a-v-ilai</i> )
Do.	Do.	<i>a</i> is also lengthened in verse (e.g. <i>a + irutiṇaiyūm = ā-y-irutiṇaiyūm</i> )
<i>Case-relation sandhi:</i>		
<i>a</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>a</i> (of names of trees)	do.	<i>ñ, ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>viḷa + kōṭū = viḷaṅkōṭū</i> )
<i>a</i> (of <i>maka</i> , the name of a tree.)	do.	The flexional increment <i>iy</i> or <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>m a k a + k a i = makaviṅkai</i> or <i>makat-tukkai.</i> )
‘ Ā ’		
<i>Non-case-relation sandhi:</i>		
<i>ā</i> (of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tārā-k-kaṭitū.</i> )
<i>ā</i> (of verbal participles)	do.	Do. (e.g. <i>uṇṇā-c-ceṇ-rāṇ.</i> )

$\bar{a}$ (of nouns when compounded with another noun in <i>unmaittokai</i> or <i>dvanda</i> compound)	$k, c, t, \phi$	<sup>1</sup> $a$ with one of $k, c, t, \phi$ is respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>irā-a-<math>\phi</math>-<math>\phi</math>akal.</i> )
<i>Case-relation-sandhi:</i>		
$\bar{a}$	do.	$k, c, t, \phi$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>tārā + kāl = tārā-k-kāl</i> etc.)
$\bar{a}$ (in words whose vowel previous to the final $\bar{a}$ is short or in words of one syllable.)	do.	<sup>2</sup> $a$ with one of $k, c, t, \phi$ is respectively inserted (e.g. <i>ṣalā-a-k-kōṣū.</i> )
<i>Exceptions:</i>		
$\bar{a}$ (of <i>nilā</i> )	do.	The flexional increment <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>nilā + koṇṭāṇ = nilā + attu + koṇṭāṇ = nilāttukkoṇṭāṇ.</i> )
$\bar{a}$ (of <i>irā</i> )	do.	Only $k, c, t, \phi$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>irā + koṇṭāṇ = irā-k-koṇṭāṇ.</i> )
$\bar{a}$ (of the word $\bar{a}$ )	$\phi$	$\phi$ is inserted and the final $\bar{a}$ is shortened to $i$ . (e.g. $\bar{a} + \phi = \bar{a}\phi$ .)
<i>Case-relation sandhi:</i>		
$i$	$k, c, t, \phi$	$k, c, t, \phi$ are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>kīḷi + kāl = kīḷi-k-kāl.</i> )
$i$ (of <i>vaḷi, ṣaṇi</i> (season))	do.	Flexional increments <i>attu</i> & <i>iṇ</i> are inserted.
$i$ (of <i>uti</i> (tree))	do.	$\bar{n}, \bar{n}, n, m$ are respectively inserted.
$i$ (of <i>ṣuḷi</i> (tree))	do.	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted.

1 & 2. These are cases where hiatus is allowed; but some Tamilians seem to think that the  $a$  after  $\bar{a}$  denotes that  $\bar{a}$  has 3 mātrās and as such is not a separate sound; but here in this sūtra the expression 'akaramikumā' is found. Here *mikum* shows that it is a separate sound according to Tolkāppiyāṇār. But now  $a$  and  $\bar{a}$  are pronounced only as  $\bar{a}$ 3.



ī (of *nī* when it takes the flexional increment *iṅ*)      *k, c, t, p*      ī is shortened, *ṅ* is inserted after it. (e.g. *nī + kai = niṅkai*.)

‘U’

In non-case-relation sandhi it mostly agrees with the final *a* with the following exceptions:—When *atu*, *itu* and *utu* are followed by verbs beginning with *k, c, t, p*, it has no change; but when followed by *aṅṅi* in verse, *u* of *atu*, etc., is changed to *ā*. (e.g. *atāaṅṅamma*.)

Even in case-relation sandhi, it mostly agrees with the final *a* with the following exception:—When *atu*, *itu* and *utu* are followed by *k, c, t, p*, the flexional increment *iṅ* is inserted.

‘Ū’

Both in case-relation sandhi and non-case-relation sandhi *ū* agrees with *ā*, i.e., if it is followed by *k, c, t, p*, one of them is inserted.

Exceptions:

(a) When its preceding vowel is short or when it is the final of a single-syllabled word, *u* is inserted in addition to one of *k, c, t, p*. (e.g. *uṭū + kuṟai = uṭūu-k-kuṟai*.)

(b) After *ū* in the word *pū*, the nasal also is optionally inserted. (e.g. *pū-k-koṭi* and *pū-ṅ-koṭi*.)

(c) After *ū* in *āṭū* and *maḱāṭū*, the flexional increment *iṅ* is optionally added. (e.g. *āṭū-v-iṅ-kai*.)

Final member of the standing word

Initial member of the following word.

Change in sandhi.

‘E’

*e* (at the end of verbs of 2nd person)

*k, c, t, p*

*k, c, t, p* are respectively inserted.

*e* (at the end of nouns added for emphasis)

Do.

No change. (e.g. *ēkkoṅ-ṭāy*.)

‘Ē’

General rule:

ē (both in case-relation and non-case-relation sandhi)

*k, c, t, p*

*k, c, t, p* are respectively inserted. (e.g. *cē + kaṭitū = cē-k-kaṭitū*, etc.)

*Exceptions:*

<i>ē</i> (at the end of nouns to denote negation, interrogation, number)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	No change. (e.g. <i>yāṅē-konṭēṅ</i> in the sense <i>yāṅkonṭilēṅ</i> , etc.)
<i>ē</i> (of the word <i>cē</i> denoting a tree)	Do.	Corresponding nasal is inserted. (e.g. <i>cēṅkōṭū</i> .)
<i>ē</i> (of the word <i>cē</i> denoting <i>perrani</i> )	Do.	Flexional increment <i>iṅ</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>cē-v-iṅ-kōṭū</i> .)

‘*AI*’*Case-relation Sandhi:*

<i>ai</i> (at the end of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>yāṅai + kōṭū = yāṅai-k-kōṭū</i> , etc.)
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*Exceptions:*

<i>ai</i> (at the end of words <i>paṅai, avai, āvirai</i> )	Do.	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>paṅa + kāy = paṅai + am + kāy = paṅaṅkāy</i> .)
<i>ai</i> (at the end of <i>paṅai</i> followed by the word <i>aṭṭū</i> )		<i>ai</i> changes to <i>āa</i> . (e.g. <i>paṅāaṭṭū</i> .)
<i>ai</i> (at the end of the word <i>maḷai</i> )	Do.	<i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>maḷai-y-attu-k-konṭāṅ</i> .)
<i>ai</i> (at the end of words denoting month and star)	Do.	Flexional increment <i>ikku</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>cittirai + konṭāṅ = cittirai-ku-k-konṭāṅ</i> .)

‘*Ō*’*Non-case-relation Sandhi:*

<i>ō</i> (at the end of nouns)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>ō-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
<i>ō</i> (at the end of nouns denoting negation, interrogation or doubt)	Do.	No change.
<i>ō</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>o</i> and one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>ō-o-k-kaṭumai</i> .)

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ō (followed by the word ī)		<sup>1</sup> No change. (e.g. <i>kō-v- il, kō-y-il.</i> )
ō (at the end of some words in literature)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>oṅ</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>kō- oṅ-kai.</i> )
	‘AU’	
<i>au</i> (both in case-relation sandhi and non-case- relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>u</i> and one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> are inserted. (e. g. <i>kau + kaṭitū = kauv-u- k-kaṭitū.</i> )

2.1125. *The Changes when the Final Member of the Stand-  
ing word is a Consonant.*<sup>2</sup>

Final Member of the standing word	Initial Member of the following word	Change in Sandhi
Nasal	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<sup>3</sup> Corresponding nasal is substituted. (e. g. <i>maram + kuṭitū = ma- raṅkuṭitū.</i> )
ṅ, ṇ	<i>yā</i> or <i>ñā</i> .	No change. (e. g. <i>maṅ + yāṭṭa = manyāṭṭa, etc.</i> )
Any consonant preceded by a long vowel		<sup>4</sup> Generally dropped. (e. g. <i>kōl + naṅṅū = kō- ṅṅū.</i> )

1. Ṇampūraṅar gives *kōyil* for the example and Naccipārkkī-  
ṅiyar *kōvil*; but it seems to me that *kō-il* ought to have been the ex-  
ample referred to by Tolkāppiyāṅār since he uses the word *iyaṅkai* in  
the sūtra and in his opinion (Tol. E. 141) the insertion of *uṅampaṅumey*  
is only optional.

2. The rules noted here are mostly found in Tolkāppiyam, Eḷut-  
tatikāram, Puḷḷimayaṅkiyal, except the first four which are found in  
Tokaimarapu, 144, 147, 161.

3. This is a clear case of assimilation.

4. This generally happens when the initial member of the following  
word is a consonant.



Any consonant preceded by a short vowel		<sup>1</sup> The final consonant is doubled. (e. g. <i>ṣoṇ + akai = ṣoṇṇakai.</i> )
ā, ṅ, ṇ, m, l, ṣ (of verbal nouns in both kinds of sandhi)	k, c, t, ṣ	<sup>2</sup> u and one of k, c, t, ṣ are inserted. (e. g. <i>uriñ + kaṣitū = uriñ-u-k-kaṣitū.</i> )
ā, ṅ, ṇ, m, l, ṣ (of verbal nouns in both kinds of sandhi)	ā, ṇ, m, v	<sup>3</sup> u is inserted. (e. g. <i>uriñ-u-ñāṇyatū.</i> )
	N	
ṣ (in case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, ṣ	Changed to ṣ (e.g. <i>maṇ + kuṣam = maṣkuṣam.</i> )
<i>Exceptions:</i>		
ṣ (of the words <i>āṇ</i> and <i>ṣeṇ</i> )	Do.	No change. (e.g. <i>āṇkai.</i> )
ṣ (of <i>āṇ</i> denoting tree)	Do.	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>āṇ + kōṣū = āṇ-am-kōṣū.</i> )
ṣ (of <i>eṇ</i> denoting food in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	Optionally changes to ṣ (e.g. <i>eṇ + kaṣitū = eṣ-kaṣitū.</i> )
	M	
m (in case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, ṣ	m is dropped and the succeeding consonant is doubled. (e. g. <i>maram + kōṣū = mara-k-kōṣū.</i> )
Do.	a or ā	m is dropped and the preceding a is optionally lengthened or is followed by intervocalic v. (e.g. <i>maram + aṣi = marā-aṣi<sup>4</sup> or maravaṣi.</i> )

1. This generally happens when the initial member of the following word is a vowel.

2 & 3. These may be called cases of epenthesis according to Vendreyes (cf. Language, p. 61) though Brugman gives the same name to a slightly different phenomenon.

4. This is a case of hiatus; but now *ās* is pronounced like *pluta* in Sanskrit.

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<i>m</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and sometimes the corresponding nasal is inserted instead of <i>k, c, t, p</i> , (e.g. <i>kuḷam + karai = kuḷakkarai</i> or <i>kuḷaṅkarai</i> .)
<i>m</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>m</i> is changed to the nasal corresponding to <i>k, c, t, p</i> . (e.g. <i>maram + kuritū = maraṅkuritū</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of <i>āyiram</i> )	word denoting number	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>attu</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>āyiram + oṅṟū = āyirattonṟū</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of <i>āyiram</i> )	word denoting measure and weight beginning with <i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>k, c, t, p</i> are doubled. (e.g. <i>āyiram + pāṇai = āyirra-p-pāṇai</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of <i>num</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<sup>1</sup> <i>m</i> is dropped and the nasal corresponding to <i>k, c, t, p</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>num + kai = nuṅkai</i> .)
<i>m</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>m</i> is shortened to $\frac{3}{4}$ mātrā. (e.g. <i>nilam + valitū = nilamvalitū</i> .)
<i>m</i> (of words denoting star)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>m</i> is dropped and <i>attu</i> and <i>āṇ</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>makam + koṇṭāṇ = makattāṇkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)
* <u>N</u> *		
<i>ṅ</i> (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	changed to <i>ṛ</i> . (e.g. <i>poṅkuṭam = poṛkuṭam</i> .)
<i>ṅ</i> (of words <i>maṇ, ciṇ, āṇ, iṇ, muṇ, piṇ</i> of verbal participle)	Do.	changed to <i>ṛ</i> . (e.g. <i>piṇkoṇṭāṇ = piṛkoṇṭāṇ</i> .)

1. This is may be otherwise stated that *m* is assimilated to *k, c, t, p*.

ʒ (of <i>avvayiy, ivvayiy, uvvayiy, evvayiy</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	changed to <i>r</i>
ʒ (of <i>mīy</i> )	Do.	Optionally changed to <i>r</i> . (e. g. <i>mīykoṇṭāy</i> or <i>mīrkoṇṭāy</i> .)
ʒ (of <i>lēy</i> )	Do.	(1) No change; (2) <i>y</i> is changed to <i>r</i> ; (3) <i>y</i> is dropped and the following consonant is doubled; or (4) nasal is inserted. (e. g. <i>lēykuṭam, lēṛkuṭam, lēḱkuṭam</i> or <i>lēṅkuṭam</i> .)
ʒ (of words <i>miy, piy, paṅ</i> and <i>kaṅ</i> )	Do.	<i>u</i> and <i>k, c, t, p</i> are inserted. (e. g. <i>mīyṅu-kaṭumai</i> .)
ʒ (of the word <i>cāṭṭay</i> )	<i>tantai</i> (denoting relationship)	<sup>1</sup> <i>ay</i> of <i>cāṭṭay</i> is dropped. (e. g. <i>cāṭṭay + tantai = cāṭṭantai</i> .)
ʒ (of the words <i>āṭay</i> and <i>ṗāṭay</i> )	Do.	<sup>2</sup> Do. (e.g. <i>āṭay + tantai = āṅtai</i> .)
ʒ (of <i>tāy, ṗēy, kōy</i> )	<i>tantai</i> (denoting relationship)	<sup>3</sup> No change. (e.g. <i>tāy + tantai = tāyṅantai</i> .)
ʒ (of <i>tāy, yāy</i> in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>tāy</i> is changed to <i>taṅ</i> and <i>yāy</i> to <i>eṅ</i> . (e.g. <i>tāy + ai = taṅṅai, yāy + ai = eṅṅai</i> .)
ʒ (of <i>tāy, yāy</i> in non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	No change.
ʒ (of <i>muṅ</i> )	<i>il</i>	<sup>4</sup> <i>r</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>muṅṛil</i> .)

1 & 2. These are cases of *haplology*.

3. Though 'y' does not change here, 'r' of the following word changes to 'r'.

4. Here the words *il* and *muṅ* are first of all interchanged. This may be taken as a case of *metathesis* of whole words.

*y* (of *aḷaṇ*)                      *k, c, t, p*                      *y* is dropped and the succeeding consonant is doubled. (e.g. *aḷaṇ-kuḷam = aḷakkuḷam*.)

‘*Y*’

*y* (in case-relation sandhi)                      *k, c, t, p*                      *k, c, t, p* are respectively inserted, and in some cases *ñ, ñ̄, n, m* are also respectively inserted. (e.g. *nāy + kāl = nāykkāl*; *vēy + kuḷai = vēyḱkuḷai, vēyñkuḷai*.)

*Exceptions:*

*y* (of the word *tāy*)                      Do.                      No change. (e.g. *tāykai*)

*y* (of the word *tāy* preceded by *makaṇ*)                      Do.                      *k, c, t, p* are respectively inserted. (e.g. *makaṇ-rāykkālām*.)

*Non-case-relation Sandhi:*

*y*                      Do.                      No change. (e.g. *nāy-kaḷit̄i*)

‘*R*’

*r* (in case-relation sandhi)                      *k, c, t, p*                      *k, c, t, p* are respectively inserted. (e.g. *tēr + kāl = tērkkāl*.)

*r* (in non-case-relation sandhi)                      Do.                      No change.

*r* (of words *ār, vetir, cār* and *p̄ir*)                      Do.                      *ñ, ñ̄, n, m* are respectively inserted.

*r* (of *cār*)                      *k* of *kāl*                      *k* is inserted. (e.g. *cārkkāl*.)

*r* (of *p̄ir*)                      *k, c, t, p*                      Flexional increment *am* is inserted. (e.g. *p̄ir + kōḷū = p̄ir-añ-kōḷū*.)

‘*L*’

*l* (in case-relation sandhi)                      *k, c, t, p*                      *l* is changed to *r*. (e.g. *kal + kuḷai = karḱkuḷai*.)

Do.                      *ñ, ñ̄, n, m*                      *l* is changed to *y*. (e.g. *kal + muri = kaṇmuri*.)

<i>l</i> (in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Either no change or <i>l</i> is changed to <i>ṛ</i> . (e. g. <i>kal + kuṛitū = kalkuṛitū</i> or <i>kaṛkuṛitū</i> .)
Do.	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i> is optionally changed to <i>ṣ</i> when <i>l</i> is changed to <i>ṛ</i> . (e.g. <i>kal + ṣitū = kaṣṛitū</i> or <i>kaṛṣitū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>nel, cel, kol</i> and <i>col</i> in non-case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l</i> is changed to <i>ṛ</i> .
<i>l</i> (of <i>il</i> denoting negation)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are optionally inserted with <i>ai</i> or <i>a</i> before it; or no change. (e. g. <i>il + korṛay = illaikkorṛay</i> ; <i>il-lākkorṛay</i> , <i>illaikkorṛay</i> ; <i>eṇ + il + kuṇam = eṇṇil-kūṇam</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>val</i> )	Do.	<i>u</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>val + kaṭitū = vāllu-k-kaṭitū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>val</i> followed by <i>nāy</i> and <i>palakai</i> )		<i>a</i> alone or <i>a</i> and <i>p</i> are inserted. (e.g. <i>vāllanāy</i> ; <i>vālla-p-palakai</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>pūl</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e.g. <i>pūl + kōṭū = pūlāṅkōṭū</i> .)
<i>l</i> (of <i>veyil</i> )	Do.	<i>attu</i> is inserted.
	‘ <i>V</i> ’	
<i>v</i> (of <i>av, iv, uv</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>vāṛṛu</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>av + kōṭū = av-vāṛṛu-kōṭū = avāṛṛukkōṭū</i> .)
<i>v</i> (of non-case-relation sandhi)	Do.	<i>v</i> is changed to <i>ṣ</i> (e.g. <i>av + kaṭiya = aṣkaṭiya</i> .)
<i>v</i>	<i>ñ, n, m</i>	<i>ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted.
<i>v</i>	semi-vowels or vowels.	No change.

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v (of <i>tev</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>u</i> with one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> is respectively inserted (e. g. <i>tev + kaṭitū = tev-v-u-k-kaṭitū.</i> )
	‘L’	
l̄ (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>pāl̄ + kāl̄ = pāl̄-k-kāl̄.</i> )
l̄ (of the word <i>tāl̄</i> )	<i>k</i> of the word <i>kōl</i>	<i>akkū</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>tāl̄akkōl.</i> )
l̄ (of the word <i>tamil̄</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>akkū</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>tamil̄ + kūt̄tū = tamil̄-akkūt̄tū.</i> )
l̄ (of the word <i>pāl̄</i> )	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> or <i>ñ, ñ, n, m</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>pāl̄-k-kiṇarū, pāl̄-ñ-kiṇarū.</i> )
l̄ (of <i>ēl̄</i> )	Do.	<i>ay</i> is inserted. ( <i>ēl̄ + kāyam = ēl̄aykāyam</i> )
l̄ (of <i>ēl̄</i> when followed by words denoting measure and weight)		<i>ē</i> is shortened to <i>e</i> and <i>u</i> is inserted after <i>l̄</i> . (e.g. <i>ēl̄u-kalam</i> )
l̄ (of <i>ēl̄</i> when followed by <i>āyiram</i> )		<sup>1</sup> only <i>ē</i> is shortened to <i>e</i> . (e. g. <i>ēl̄ + āyiram = eḷāyiram.</i> )
l̄ (of <i>ēl̄</i> when followed by <i>nūṟāyiram</i> )		No change. (e.g. <i>ēl̄nūṟāyiram.</i> )
l̄ (of <i>ēl̄</i> when followed by <i>tāmarai, veḷḷam, āmpal</i> denoting number)		No change.
l̄	Vowels.	No change.
l̄ (of <i>kīl̄</i> )	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are optionally inserted. (e.g. <i>kīl̄kuḷam</i> or <i>kīl̄kkuḷam.</i> )
	‘L’	
l̄ (in case-relation sandhi)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>l̄</i> is changed to <i>ḷ</i> . (e. g. <i>muḷ + kuṟai = muḷ-kuṟai.</i> )

1. In Modern Tamil, *ēl̄āyiram* is used instead of *eḷāyiram*. But on the other hand, *eḷunūṟū* is used instead of *ēl̄nūṟū*.

l̥ (in case-relation sandhi)	ñ, n, m	is changed to ñ. (e. g. <i>muḷ + maram = muṅ-maram.</i> ) <sup>1</sup>
l̥ (in non-case-relation sandhi)	k, c, t, p	Either no change or is changed to ḷ. (e. g. <i>muḷ-kaṭitū</i> or <i>muḷ-kaṭitū.</i> )
Do.	t	<sup>2</sup> is also changed to ã while t is changed to ḷ. (e.g. <i>muḷ + tītū = muã-ḷitū</i> ; also <i>muḷḷitū.</i> )
l̥ (of the word <i>iruḷ</i> )	k, c, t, p	<i>allu</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>iruattukkoṅṭāy.</i> )
l̥ (of <i>puḷ</i> and <i>vaḷ</i> )	Do.	<i>u</i> and one of <i>k, c, t, p</i> respectively are inserted. (e. g. <i>puḷḷukkaṭitū</i> etc.)

2.1126. The changes when the final member of the standing word is *ū*.

Non-case-relation sandhi:<sup>3</sup>

ū	k, c, t, p	No change. (e. g. <i>nāki-kaṭitū.</i> )
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Exceptions:

ū (at the end of words like <sup>4</sup> <i>kokkū, pākkū</i> , where there is doubling of consonant in the middle)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e.g. <i>kokkū + kaṭitū = kokku-k-kaṭitū.</i> )
ū (at the end of words beginning with demonstrative roots <i>a, i</i> and <i>u</i> lengthened and the interrogative <i>yā</i> ) <sup>5</sup>	Do.	Do. (e. g. <i>āñkū + koṅṭāy = āñku-k-koṅṭāy.</i> )

1. In modern days we find the word *muḷmaram* also.

2. This is a case of both progressive and regressive assimilation.

3. *Allatū kiḷappi ṅ-ellā moḷiyuñ*

*Colliya paṅṅi ṅ-iyarṅkai y-ākkum.* (Tol. E. 426.)

4. *Valloṅṅū-t toṅar-moḷi valleḷuttu mikumē.* (ibid. 427.)

5. *Cuḷḷu-c-ciṅṅai nāṅiya meṅṅoṅar moḷiyum*

*Yā-viṅṅā mutaliya meṅṅoṅar moḷiyum*

*Ā-y-ya ṅiriyā valleḷut tiyarṅkai.* (ibid. 428.)

ú (at the end of words beginning with interrogative <i>yā</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Optionally no change. (e. g. <i>yāñkū-kōṇṭāṇ</i> )
<i>Case-relation sandhi:</i>		
ú (at the end of words with <sup>2</sup> a single long vowel or with two or more vowels other than <i>ú</i> in the word)	Do.	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are respectively inserted. (e. g. <i>yāñú + kāl = yāññú-k-kāl</i> ; <i>varakū + ceñi = varakū-c-ceñi</i> .)
ú (at the end of words with <sup>3</sup> a conjunct consonant or <i>ā</i> in the middle)	Do.	No change. (e. g. <i>teñkū-kāl</i> or <i>cāñkū-kāl</i> .)
ú <sup>4</sup> (at the end of words having a double voiceless consonant in the middle or a voiceless consonant preceded by a like nasal) <sup>4</sup>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<i>k, c, t, p</i> are inserted respectively; in the second case, the voiced consonant in the middle is optionally made voiceless. (e. g. <i>kokkū-k-kāl</i> ; <i>kurañkū-k-kāl</i> ; <i>kuraññū-k-kāl</i> .)
ú <sup>5</sup>	<i>y</i>	ú is changed to <i>i</i> . (e. g. <i>nāñkū + yāñú = nāñkiyāñú</i> .)
ú (at the end of words <sup>6</sup> denoting trees)	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	Flexional increment <i>am</i> is inserted. (e. g. <i>teñkū + kāy = teñkūkāy</i> .) <sup>7</sup>

1. *Yā-viñā moḷiyē y-iyal pu m-ākum*. (ibid. 429.)

2. *Īreluttū moḷiyu m-uyir-t-toṭar moḷiyum*  
*Vēṇṇumai y-āyi v-ōṇṇitai y-iñ-a-mikat*  
*Tōṇṇam vēñṇum velleluttū mikuti*. (ibid. 412.)

3. *Ṭai-y-ōṇṇu-t toṭaru m-āyā-t toṭarum*  
*Naṭaiyū y-iyala v-cēmaññār pulavar*. (ibid. 414.)

4. *Vaṇṇoṭar moḷiyu meṇṇoṭar moḷiyum*  
*Vanta vellelūt t-ōṇṇitai mikumē*  
*Melloṇṇu-t toṭar-moḷi melloṇ ṇ-ellām*  
*Valloṇ ṇ-iṇṇuti-kūṭai-y-ōṇ ṇ-ākum*. (ibid. 415.)

5. *Yakaram varu-vāḷi y-ikarañ kuṇṇukum*  
*Ukarak kīḷavi tuvara-t tōṇṇātū*. (ibid. 411.)

6. *Mara-p-peyar-k kīḷavi-k k-ammē cāriyai*. (ibid. 416.)

7. In the example *teñkūkāy* three points are worth noting :—(1) when *ú* of *teñkū* is joined with *a* of *am*, *ú* is dropped. Whenever *ú* is



ú (of <i>puṅki</i> , etc.) <sup>1</sup>	<i>k, c, t, p</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>am</i> is inserted; but the medial nasal is not changed to the corresponding voiceless consonant. (e. g. <i>puṅki</i> + <i>kōṭṭi</i> = <i>puṅkañkōṭṭi</i> .)
ú (of <i>aṣṭi</i> , <i>iṣṭi</i> , <i>uṣṭi</i> in <sup>3</sup> non - case - relation sandhi)	any vowel	No change.
Do. <sup>4</sup>	any consonant.	a is dropped.

Tolkāppiyaṅār explains in about 50 sūtras the changes which ú at the end of Tamil numbers from one to thousand undergoes when it is followed by words denoting number, measure and weight. Here two sūtras dealing with the formation of the words *tonṇūṟṟú* (ninety) and *tollāyiram* (nine hundred) are worth-noting. They are—

*Oṅpā y-okaramicai-t takara moṟṟum*  
*Muntai y-orṟē ṅakāra m-iraṟṟum*  
*Paṣṭey kiṭavi y-āyṭa-paka rañ-keṭa*

followed by a vowel, it is dropped. But this rule is not given in *kuṟṟiyalukara-p-puṅariyal*. In *puṅariyal* there is a sūtra '*kuṟṟiya l-ukaramu m-arṟeṅa molipa*' (Tol. E. 106) where the commentator Ṭampūraṅar says that it allows itself to be absorbed by the succeeding vowel as a consonant does, but this commentary does not suit well since the consonant sound does not allow itself to be absorbed by the succeeding vowel. (2) *Tēkkāñkāy* is now used as *tēñkāy*; this is an illustration of haplogy. (3) The ē in *tēñkāy* is the lengthened form of *e* in *tēñkū*; the lengthening here ought to have been done as compensation for the loss of the succeeding sounds; the same cannot be said of ē in *tēkkāñkāy*.

1. *Melloṟṟu valiyā mara-p-peyaru m-uḷavē*. (Tol. E. 417.)

2. It is worthy of note that *y* in *puṅkū* is not assimilated to *k* and consequently changed to *ñ*; but, in modern days, in spoken Tamil it is changed to *ñ* also.

3. *Muṅṅu-yir varum-iṭa-t t-āyṭa-p puḷḷi*

*Maṅṅal vēṅṅu m-alvaḷi y-āṅa*. (Tol. E. 424.)

4. *Ēṅai-muṅ variṅē tāṅilai y-iṅṅē*. (ibid. 425.)

*Nirṛai vēṇṭu mukārak kiḷavi*  
*Oṟṟiya lakaram ṛakara m-ākum. (Tol. E. 446.)*  
*Oṇṇpāṇ mutāṇilai muntu-kiḷan tarṟē*  
*Mūntai y-oṟṟē lakāra m-iraṟṟum*  
*Nūṟeṇ kiḷavi nakāra mey-keṭa*  
*Ū-v-ā v-āku m-iyarṟhai-t t-eṇṇa*  
*Āyīṭai varuta t-ikāra rakāram*  
*Īrumey keṭuttu makara m-oṟṟum. (ibid. 464.)*

The former may be translated as follows :—

When *oṇṇpatū* is combined with *paṣṭū*, *t* is inserted before *o* of *oṇṇpatū*, *ṇṇ* is substituted for *ṇ*, *paṣ* is dropped, *ū* is inserted after *ṇṇ* and *t* of *paṣṭū* is replaced by *ṟ*. Hence the form *toṇṇūṟū*. (Here no mention is made of the dropping of *patū* in *oṇṇpatū*; but it seems to me that it has been dropped on account of the same word *paṣṭū* following it.) The latter sūtra may be translated as follows:—When *oṇṇpatū* is combined with *nūṟū*, *t* is inserted before *o* of *oṇṇpatū*, *ṇṇ* is substituted for *ṇ*, *n* of *nūṟū* is dropped, *ū* is replaced by *ā* followed by *ira* and *ṟu* is replaced by *m*. Hence *toṇṇā-ira-m—toṇṇā-y-iram*, *y* being intervocalic. (Here also no mention is made of the loss of *patū* in *oṇṇpatū*.)

These two sūtras clearly show that the derivation of the two words *toṇṇūṟū* and *toṇṇāyiram* was forgotten even at the time of *Tolkāppiyaṇār*.

In the last but one sūtra of *Eḷuttatikāram*, *Tolkāppiyaṇār* states that the sandhi that takes place between *uriccol* and a following word, between the two members of *paṇṇu-t-tokai* and *viṇai-t-tokai*, and between a word denoting a number and the same word, does not follow the rules already mentioned, and that it must be found out from usage. (e.g. *veḷ eṇa veḷuttatū* becomes *veḷveḷuttatū*; *kariyatū + kutirai* becomes *karuṅkutirai*; *koṇṇa + yāṇai* becomes *kol-yāṇai*; *kollum + yāṇai* becomes *kol-yāṇai*; *pāttū + pāttū* becomes *pappāttū* or *paṣpāttū*.)

2.12. *Medieval Period*: 2.121. The author of *Vīra-cōḷiyam* explains sandhi in 18 stanzas in *Cantiṭṭaḷalam*. Instead of the terms *meypīṟilātal*, *mikutal*, and *kuṇṇal* adopted by *Tolkāppiyaṇār*, he respectively mentions *ādēṣa*, *iḷgama*, and *lōpa*.

This clearly shows that he wanted to import terms current in Sanskrit grammar in preference to Tamil terms. He prefers the term *ādēśa* used in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī to the term *vikāra* used in Prātiśākhya.

He then summarises the general views of Tolkāppiyāṇār in a clumsy fashion so as to suit the verse-form, and adds a few more not found in Tolkāppiyam. The substance of the following sūtras in Eḷuttatikāram of Tolkāppiyam is briefly mentioned in the stanzas 14, 16, 17, 19, 20 to 22 and 24 to 28.

Stanza No. in Cantippaḷalam of Viracōḷiyam.      Sūtra No. in Eḷuttatikāram.

Viracōḷiyam.

14	151, 161, 358, 363, 384
16	397, 398
17	367, 368, 150
19	311, 312, 315, 331
20	150, 204, 222, 244, 250, 253, 255, 265, 274, 275, 277, 281, 283, 290
21	415
22	303, 333, 398
24	206, 207, 209, 239, 257
25	82 312, 368, 398,
26	259, 390
27	174 to 203
28	150, 151.

In the 11th stanza he mentions that the negative particle *na* (of Sanskrit) loses its *n* before a consonant and it becomes *an* before a vowel. (cf. *na + brāhmaṇaḥ = a-brāhmaṇaḥ*; *na + indraḥ = anindraḥ*.)<sup>1</sup> In the 12th, he mentions *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters (as found in Sanskrit) and says that they appear in words having *taddhita* suffix as *caivaṇ*. These points found in Sanskrit grammar have no place in a treatise on Tamil grammar. Still he seems to have mentioned them since such Sanskrit words

1. Cf. *na + iṣṭaḥ = aiṣṭaḥ* (P. A. 6.3.73) and *tasmānuṣ aci* (P. A. 6.3.74).

as are governed by these rules were found in plenty in the Tamil literature of his time. But all those words like *abrāhmaṇa*, *anindra*, *ramēṣa*, *śaiva* must have been borrowed as they were in Sanskrit. Hence no adequate justification can be found in the strict requirements of Tamil language and grammar for formulating these rules.

In stanza 13 he definitely mentions that, if the standing word ends in *i*, *ī* or *ai*, and if the following word commences with a vowel, *y* is inserted between them; if it is *ē*, either *y* or *v* is inserted and if it is any other vowel, *v* is inserted. This is evidently an improvement upon *Tolkāppiyāṇḍr*, since the latter has stated only that an *uṭampatuṁey* may be inserted between two vowels (Tol. E. 141) and *v* is inserted after the demonstrative roots and before vowels as *a-v-v-āṭai*, *i-v-v-āṭai*, etc. (Tol. E. 208, 239 & 256.) The author of *Viracōliyam* may have gone through the literature written before his time and stated this law from the examples available from them, of which some are given below.

‘I’

1. *Maṇi + ampalattuḷ = maṇi-y-ampalattuḷ* (T.A.S. 1.3.4).
2. *Kumari + iṅ = kumari-y-iṅ* (P.N. 6.2).
3. *Uvavumati + uruviṅ = uvavumati-y-uruviṅ* (P.N. 3.1).
4. *Iṭi + eṇa = iṭi-y-eṇa* (P.N. 17.39).
5. *Puravi + aivarotū = puravi-y-aivarotū* (P.N. 2.13).
6. *Puravi + oṭu = puravi-y-oṭu* (P.N. 16.1).

N.B.—But after the demonstrative *i* only *v* is inserted. e.g. *i + aṅ = i-v-aṅ*.

‘I’

1. *Ti + aḷavū = ti-y-aḷavū* (K. 747).
2. *Ni + ākal-vēṅṅiṇum = ni-y-ākal-vēṅṅiṇum* (P.N. 18.15).
3. *Ti + um = ti-y-um* (P.N. 2.4).
4. *Ni + ē = ni-y-ē* (P.N. 4.13).
5. *Ni + ō = ni-y-ō* (P.N. 5.3).

‘AI’

1. *Erumai + aṅṅa = erumai-y-aṅṅa* (P.N. 5.1).
2. *Eṅkuvai + āyiṅ = eṅkuvai-y-āyiṅ* (P.N. 13.1).

3. *Ticai + irunāṅkum = ticai-y-irunāṅkum* (P.N. 41.4).
4. *Tānai + um = tānai-y-um* (P.N. 161.31).
5. *Māṣamālikai + eṭukka = māṣamālikai-y-eṭukka*  
(S.I.I. ii, 521).

## ‘E’

1. *Tānē + atu = tānē-y-atu* (P.N. 5.8).
2. *Koṣuttōrē + uṅṅi = koṣuttōrē-y-uṅṅi* (P.N. 18.20).
3. *Tāmē + ūrtorum = tāmē-y-ūrtorum* (P.N. 52.8).
4. *Cē + aṭi = cē-v-aṭi* (Pattu. 5.62).
5. *Ē + uṟumaññaiyiṅ = ē-v-uṟumaññaiyiṅ* (Pattu. 197.84).

*Note.*—Only *y* is inserted in most of the cases ; *v* is rarely inserted.

## ‘A’

1. *Anma + ivay = anma-v-ivay* (P.N. 18.29).
2. *Uṅṅākiya + uyarmāṅṅum = uṅṅākiya-v-uyarmāṅṅum*  
(P.N. 17.24).
3. *Neṭiya + eṅṅātū = neṭiya-v-eṅṅātū* (P.N. 47.2).
4. *Niḷarṟa + ēmamuracam = niḷarṟa-v-ēmamuracam*  
(P.N. 3.3).
5. *Pōla + ōvātū = pōla-v-ōvātū* (P.N. 4.19).

## ‘Ā’

1. *Vārā + aḷavai = vārā-v-aḷavai* (P.N. 50.6).
2. *Ā + iṅ + ku = ā-v-iṅ-kū* (K. 1066).
3. *Tavirā + ikai = tavirā-v-ikai* (P.N. 3.5).
4. *Kalaṅkō + uḷḷam = kalaṅkō-v-uḷḷam* (Cilap. 4.70).
5. *Mā + ē = mā-v-ē* (P.N. 4.7).

## ‘U’

1. *U + aṅ = u-v-aṅ* (Tol. Col. 162).
2. *Maru + iṅṟi = maru-v-iṅṟi* (Cilap. 5.39).
3. *Valiṟaṭu + ōr = valiṟaṭu-v-ōr* (P.N. 10.1).

## ‘Ū’

1. *Tū + ā + kuḷavi = tū-v-ā-k-kuḷavi* (P.N. 379.15).

*E* and *o*, it has already been stated, are very rare as finals of roots or nouns.

In stanza 15 he mentions that if *l̄* or *l̄* is followed by *t*, it is changed to *ṭ* and consequently *t* also is changed to *ṭ* and in some cases one of the two *ṭ*'s is dropped. This dropping of one of the two *ṭ*'s when the vowel preceding *l̄* is short is not mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. e.g. *arumṭoruḷ + tarūum* becomes *arumṭoruḷ-arūum* in Cīlap. 24 where *l̄* is changed to *ṭ* and then dropped. I carefully ransacked several works written before his time, but I could not find one example in them where *l̄* is changed to *ṭ* or is dropped. In the first stanza in Kantapurāṇam, a later work, *likaḷ + lacakkaram* becomes *likaṭacakkaram* where *l̄* is dropped after changing the succeeding *t* to *ṭ*. In Kamparāmāyaṇam, a work written after Vīracōḷiyam *kil + ticai* becomes *kīṭṭicai*, (Kampar. C. Kaṭaliāvu. 39) where *l̄* is changed to *ṭ*.

In stanza 18, he says that, if *l̄* is followed by *n*, *l̄* is dropped and *n* changes to *ṇ*. e.g. *vāl + nāl = vāṇāl*. Cf. *vāṇaḷ annāl* (Kampar. C. Ūrtēṭu. 75). Similarly he says that, if *l̄* is followed by a voiceless consonant, it is changed to *ṭ* or *ṇ* and if it is followed by *m*, it is changed to *ṇ*. These points are not found in Tolkāppiyam.

In stanza 23 he says that the ādēśas of *onṛū*, *iraṇṭū*, *māṇṛū*, *nāiū*, *aintū*, *āṛū*, *ēḷ*, *eḷṭū*, *onṭatū*, *ṭatū* and *nūṛū* are respectively *oru*, *or*: *iru*, *ir*: *mu*, *mū*: *nāṇkū*: *ai*: *aṛu*: *eḷu*: *eṇ*: *onṭāṇ*: *ton*, *toṇ*: *ṭāṇ*, *ṭāṇ*: *nūṛū*, *ṭatu*, *ṭaṭū* and *āyiram*. This is only a brief summary of the rules in Tolkāppiyam dealing with the sandhi of numbers mentioned in *kuṛṭṭiyalukara-ṭ-ṭuṇarīyal*. One point to be noted here is that he does not indulge in any fanciful derivation of *tonṇūṛū* and *tolḷāyiram* like Tolkāppiyaṇār but explains them as formed out of *tol* and *nūṛū*, and *tol* and *āyiram*, though he fancies that *tol* and *nūṛū* are ādēśas of *onṭatū* and *ṭatū* in the former and *tol* and *āyiram* are the ādēśas of *onṭatū* and *nūṛū* in the latter.

He has not divided sandhi into the two classes, the case-relation sandhi and the non-case-relation sandhi, as Tolkāppiyaṇār has done. This is perhaps due to the fact that such a division is not found in Sanskrit Grammar. But considering the points of difference in sandhi between two words in Tamil when the

former is in case-relation with the latter or otherwise, I find it difficult to understand why he has omitted it.

2.122. The author of Nēminātam has given 15 stanzas on sandhi of which about 10 are almost identical with Vīracōḷiyam in substance. Three of them contain the same matter as in Tolkāppiyam. He gives like the author of Vīracōḷiyam, the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters applicable to Sanskrit words, but differs from him in his statement that if the standing word ends in *ē*, only *v* is inserted if it is followed by a vowel. He gives some more rules, e.g. *v* of *tev* is changed to *m* if it is followed by *m*.

2.123. The author of Naṅṅūḷ has skilfully summarised all the sūtras of Tolkāppiyam on sandhi with the additions mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar, the authors of Vīracōḷiyam and Nēminātam with reference to pure Tamil words, with slight changes here and there.

2.1231. *The important points where Naṅṅūḷār differs from Tolkāppiyaṇār:—*(1) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that there is no change in non-case-relation sandhi if the standing word ends in *y*<sup>1</sup>; but Naṅṅūḷār says that if *y* is preceded by a short vowel and followed by a nasal, the same nasal is inserted.<sup>2</sup> (e.g. *mey* + *ñāṅṅatū* = *mey-ñ-ñāṅṅatū*.)

(2) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that, if the demonstrative roots are followed by consonants, they are doubled; but Naṅṅūḷār adds the interrogative *e* also as *e-k-korṅṅaṅ* and also says that if the demonstrative root is lengthened and is followed by a vowel, *y* but not *v*, is inserted;<sup>3</sup> this is not mentioned by

- 
1. *Alvaḷi y-eḷḷē m-iyalpeṅṅa moḷipa.* (Tol. E. 362.)
  2. *Eṅ-mū v-eḷuttir ṅ-evaḷai moḷikkum*  
*Muṅ-varu ña-na-ma-ya va-k-ka ḷ-iyalpum*  
*Kuṅḷ-vaḷi y-a-t-taṅṅi y-ai-u-notu muṅ-meli*  
*Mikalum-ām na-ḷa-ṅa-la vaḷi-na-t tiriyaṅ.* (Na. 158.)
  3. *Ekara viṅṅa-mu-c cuṅṅiṅ muṅṅar*  
*Uyirum yakaram-u m-eytiṅ va-v-v-um*  
*Piṅṅa-vari ṅ-avaiyum tūkkir cuṅṅu*  
*Niḷiṅ yakaram-um tōṅṅutal neṅi-y-ē.* (ibid. 163.)



Tolkāppiyaṇār though he has used it in his first sūtra in Collatikāram 'ā-y-irutiṇaiyīṅ icaikkumaya collē'.

(3) Tolkāppiyaṇār has not definitely stated that *ū* at the end of the standing word is dropped if it is followed by a vowel; Naṇṇūlār has definitely stated it. He may have taken it from ḷampūraṇar's commentary on the sūtra 'kurṇiya ḷukaramu maṇṇeṇa molīpa' (Tol. E. 106).

(4) Tolkāppiyaṇār states that when the word *paḷa* is followed by the same word, the two become *paḷapaḷa*, *paḷa-p-paḷa* or *paṇṇapaḷa*. ḷampūraṇar adds the word *cila* also to that category and continues that when *paḷa* and *cila* are followed by other words also, they optionally lose the final *a*. (e. g. *paḷa-kalai*, *paḷ-kalai*; *cila-vaḷai*, *cil-vaḷai*, etc.) Naṇṇūlār agrees with both<sup>1</sup>.

(5) Tolkāppiyaṇār says that *i* of verbal participle *iṇṇi* is changed to *u* in verse. Naṇṇūlār adds the word *aṇṇi* also.<sup>2</sup>

(6) Naṇṇūlār says that, if the word *uri* is followed by certain words, *ya* is inserted between them, as *uri + uṇṇū = uri-ya-uṇṇū*; *uri + paṇṇū = uri-ya-paṇṇū*.<sup>3</sup> This is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār or by the author of Vīracōḷiyam.

(7) Naṇṇūlār says that there are certain words ending in *ū* which take the flexional increment *ai* in sandhi. (e. g. *paṇṇū + kalam = paṇṇaikkalam*; *iṇṇū + nāl = iṇṇaināl*)<sup>4</sup>. This is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṇār.

(8) Naṇṇūlār exactly agrees with the author of Vīracōḷiyam as regards *uṇṇapaṇṇumey* or intervocalic consonant, which Tolkāppiyaṇār has not clearly stated.

1. *Paḷa-cila v-eṇṇum-ivai tam-muṇṇ tām-variyiṅ*  
*Iyaḷpum mikalum akara m-ēka*  
*Lakaram ṇakara m-ākalum piya-variyiṅ*  
*Akaram viḷaypa m-ākalu m-uḷa-piya.* (ibid. 170.)
2. *Aṇṇi y-iṇṇi-y-eṇṇ viṇṇai-y-eṇṇ c-ikaram*  
*Toṇṇarpiṇṇu ḷ-ukara m-āy-vari y-iyalṇē.* (ibid. 173.)
3. *Uri-vari ṇūḷiyi y-iṇṇuyir mey-keṇṇ*  
*Maruvum ṇakara m-urivyiṅ vaḷiyē*  
*Yakara v-u-yir-mey-ā m-ēṇṇaṇṇa varyiṇṇē.* (ibid. 174.)
4. *Ai-y-iṇṇ ṇūṇai-k-kuṇ ṇakaram-u m-uḷavē.* (ibid. 185.)



(9) Tolkāppiyaṅār says that, when both the standing word and the following word denote directions, the final *ś* with the preceding consonants is dropped, and if the standing word is *teṅkū*, *ṅ* also is changed to *n*.<sup>1</sup> (cf. *teṅ-mēṅkū*.) Ḥampūraṅar adds under the same sūtra that, even if the following word does not denote direction, the same change takes place (as *vaṭakaṭal*) and also *ṅ* of *mēṅkū* is changed to *l* as *mēl+kūrai*. Naṅṅūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>2</sup>

(10) Naṅṅūlār says that, if *teṅkū* is the standing word and *kāy* is the following word, *kū* is dropped and *e* is lengthened.<sup>3</sup> (e.g. *teṅkū+kāy=teṅkāy*.)<sup>4</sup>

(11) Tolkāppiyaṅār says that, if the word *paṭṭū* is followed by *oṅṅū*, *mūṅṅū*, *nāṅṅū...eṭṭū*, *tū* of *paṭṭū* is dropped and the flexional increment *iṅ* is inserted.<sup>5</sup> (e.g. *paṭṭū+oṅṅū=paṭ-iṅ-oṅṅū*, etc.) Ḥampūraṅar adds the flexional increment *iṅṅu* also. Naṅṅūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>6</sup>

1. *Tiripu-vēṅū kiḷappi ṅ-oṅṅū m-iṅṅū-y-uṅ*  
*Keṭṭal vēṅṅū m-eṅṅū-mayṅār pulavar*  
*Oṅṅū-mey tirintu ṅakāra m-āṅṅū*  
*Teṅkoṭṭē puṅarūṅ kālai y-āṅṅa.* (Tol. E. 433.)

2. *Ticai-y-oṅṅū ticai-y-um piṅṅa-v-uṅ cēriṅ*  
*Nilai-y-iṅ ṅ-uṅṅ-mey ka-v-o-oṅṅū nūṅkalum*  
*Rakaram ṅo-la-v-ū-t tiritalu m-ām-piṅṅa.* (Na. 186.)

3. *Teṅkū-niṅ ṅiṅṅuyir mey-keṭṭūṅ kāy-var-iṅ.* (ibid. 187.)

4. This lengthening of the vowel is evidently due to compensating the loss of 'kū'.

5. *Oṅṅū-muta l-āka v-eṭṭa ṅ-iṅṅū*  
*Ellā v-eṅṅūm paṭṭaṅ muṅṅ-var-iṅ*  
*Kuṅṅiyo-lukara meyyoṅṅūṅ keṭṭumē*  
*Muṅṅa v-iṅ-varūṅ m-iraṅṅalaṅ kaṭai-y-ē.* (Tol. E. 434.)

6. *Oṅṅū-muta l-āraṅ t-ūyiraṅ kōṅṅi*  
*Eṅṅiṅai y-aḷavum piṅṅa-var-iṅ paṭṭiṅ*  
*Iṅṅuyir mey-keṭṭū-t l-iṅ-ṅ-u m-iṅṅūm*  
*Ḥṅṅa t-ēṅṅū m-oṅṅū-paṭṭū m-iṅṅaiṅṅē.* (Na. 197.)

(12) Naṅṅūlār says that, if the standing word ends in a consonant other than *y* and the following word begins with *yā*, *i* is sometimes inserted.<sup>1</sup> (e.g. *vēl + yāvaṅ = vēliyāvaṅ*.)<sup>2</sup>

(13) Tolkāppiyaṅār says that, if the word *ekiṅ* not denoting a tree is the standing word, it takes after it the flexional increment *a*, and then the initial voiceless consonant of the following word is doubled.<sup>3</sup> (e. g. *ekiṅ + kāl = ekiṅ-a-k-kāl*.) Iḷampūraṅar adds that, instead of the same voiceless consonant being doubled, the corresponding nasal may be inserted, as *ekiṅ-a-ṅ-kāl*. Naṅṅūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>4</sup>

(14) If the standing word ends in *y*, *r* or *l* and the initial member of the following word is *k*, *c*, *t* or *ṣ*, there is no change in non-case-relation sandhi according to Tolkāppiyaṅār, and the same consonant may be doubled according to the author of *Viracōḷiyam*. Naṅṅūlār agrees with the latter.<sup>5</sup>

(15) Naṅṅūlār says that, if the word *tev* is followed by a word beginning with *m*, *v* is changed to *m*. (e.g. *tev + muṅai = temmuṅai*.)<sup>6</sup> But this is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṅār. This, he has adopted from *Nēminātam*.

(16) As regards the formation of *toṅṅūru* and *toḷḷāyiram*, Naṅṅūlār agrees with the author of *Viracōḷiyam* in substituting

1. *Taṅ-ṅ-ōḷi meṅ-m-muṅ ya-v-vari ṅ-i-karam*

*Tuṅṅu m-eṅṅū tuṅṅaru m-uḷarē*. (ibid. 206.)

2. This insertion of 'y' is perhaps through analogy with the insertion of 'i' when such words as *khyāti* are tamilsed into *kiyāti*.

3. *Ḫṅai y-ekiṅ-ē yakaram varum-ē*

*Valleḷut t-iyayḅai mikutal vēṅṅum*. (Tol. E. 338.)

4. *Maram-al l-ekiṅ-moḷi y-iyalṅum akaram*

*Maruva vali-meli mikalu m-ākum*. (Na. 215.)

5. *Ya-ra-ḷa muṅṅar-k ka-sa-ta-ṅa alvali*

*Iyalṅu mikalu m-ākum vēṅṅumai*

*Mikalu m-iṅṅatṭō t-uḷalṅalum viti-mēl*. (Na. 224.)

6. *Tev-v-eṅ moḷiyē toḷiṅṅeya r-aṅṅē*

*Ma-v-variṅ vaḅḅkūṅ ma-v-ṅu m-ākum*. (ibid. 236.)

*nūṛū* and *āyiram* for *ṭattū* and *nūṛū*, but agrees with Tolkāppiyāṇār in the method of changing *oṅṭatū* to *toṅ* and *toḷ* respectively. (cf. Na. 194.)

2.13. *Modern Period: 2.131.* The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* has given 106 sūtras in sandhi in three chapters. Of them 22 sūtras are identically the same as are found in Tolkāppiyam and 69 as found in *Naṅṅūl*; nine are adapted from Tolkāppiyam and 4 from *Naṅṅūl*; two are original.<sup>1</sup>

2.132. The Rev. C.J. Beschi agrees with all the grammarians regarding the insertion of the intervocalic consonant except in the case of *e*, after which, he says, *y* is inserted<sup>2</sup>, while others say that *v* is inserted. Among the changes in sandhi he includes *tiraṭṭū* which means *dīrgha-sandhi*, *guṇa-sandhi* and *vṛddhi-sandhi*<sup>3</sup> like the authors of *Vīracōḷiyam* and *Nēminātam*.

2.14. *Similarities and Dissimilarities between Sanskrit and Tamil in Sandhi: 2.141. Similarities:* There are 3 points in which Sanskrit sandhi and Tamil sandhi are similar.

(1) In Sanskrit if the standing word ends in *ṣ* preceded by a short vowel and is followed by a vowel, *ṣ* is doubled. (e. g. *sugaṇ + īśaḥ = sugaṇ-ṣ-īśaḥ*.) Cf. *namō hrasvād aci namuṇ nityam*. (P. A. 8.3.32.) Similar is the case in Tamil. e. g. *kaṇ + aḷakitū = kaṇ-ṣ-aḷakitū*. (Tol. E. 161.)

(2) The final *m* when followed by a voiceless consonant is changed to the corresponding nasal. e. g. *am + kītaḥ = aṅki-taḥ*. Similarly *aṅcītaḥ*, etc. Cf. *mō'nusvōraḥ* (P.A. 8.3.23.)

1. They deal with the point that there is no change in sandhi if the standing word is vocative or ends in third or sixth case suffix. As regards sandhi when the standing word is vocative, it seems to me that he has followed similar sandhi in Sanskrit.

2. *Mutaiṅṅuyirmoḷi yēcēṅṅuḷi, iṅcāi yīṅṅiyum yavōē, maṅṅai yuyirkkīḷ vakaram puṅṅarum* (T. V. 20); *tiriṅṅaḷi vākkam tiraṅṅunūḷ vikāram*. (ibid. 21.)

3. *Irumoḷiy orumoḷi yeṅṅaccān kīrtamūy, nilaimoḷi yīṅṅuyir nīṅṅkalu mataṅṅō, taṅṅaimoḷi mutarṅṅaṅ a ūvātalum iṅcyātalum, uṅṅvātalumūm*. (T. V. 38.)

and *anussārasya yayi para savarṇaḥ* (P. A. 8.4.58). In Tamil also the same is the case in non-case-relation sandhi. (e. g. *maram + kuṛitū = maraṅkuṛitū*, etc.) (Tol. E. 315.)

(3) Both in Sanskrit and Tamil, the final letter of the vocative does not generally undergo any change.

2.142. *Dissimilarities*:—(1) As regards sandhi between two vowels in Sanskrit the most important laws are: (a) if *a, i, u, ṛ* or *ḷ* (ॡ) is followed by a similar vowel, *ā, ī, ū, ṛ* and *ḷ* are respectively substituted for both; (b) if *a* or *ā* is followed by *i* or *u* short or long, *guṇa* letter (i.e.) *ē* or *ō* is substituted for both; (c) if *i, u, ṛ* or *ḷ* (ॡ) short or long is followed by a dissimilar vowel, it is changed to the corresponding semi-vowel; (d) if *a* is followed by *ē* or *ai* and *ō* or *āu*, *ēi* and *āu* are respectively substituted for both; (e) if *ē, ai, ō* and *āu* are followed by a vowel, they are changed to *ay, āy, av* and *āv* respectively.

None of these laws finds a place in Tamil in any period, except perhaps some of them are used in modern spoken Tamil. In place of these laws, Tamil has the one important law that a semi-vowel may, in the ancient period and must, in the medieval and modern periods, be inserted between two vowels except in the case of *ṛ* which is dropped.

(2) Besides, the insertion of flexional increment between the base and the case-suffix as found in Tamil is unknown in Sanskrit.

(3) The doubling of the initial consonant of the following word when the final of the standing word is a vowel, as in Tamil *viḷā-k-kuṛitū*, is practically unknown in Sanskrit.

(4) In Sanskrit accented syllables take *guṇa* or *vyddhi*, while, in Tamil, flexional increments are generally added before them.

(5) Another important difference in sandhi between Tamil and Sanskrit is that, in the former, it is divided into two important classes, the case-relation sandhi and the non-case-relation sandhi, and in the latter, such a classification is not found. Hence it is clear that in Tamil when words have to be combined

in sandhi, one must know before-hand their meaning, which is not necessarily the case in Sanskrit except in the case of the nouns in the vocative case and nouns in dual number. But on the other hand, in several respects the internal sandhi differs from the external sandhi in Sanskrit, while in Tamil no difference is generally made in the treatment of sounds in both these varieties of sandhi.

Hence it may be said that the ways in which sandhi takes place in both the languages are so different as to form one of the strong reasons to prove that Tamil and Sanskrit are fundamentally different languages.



### 3. COL OR PARTS OF SPEECH.

3.1. *Definition*:—All Tamil grammarians except the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* and its commentator and the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* define *col* or word as that which conveys sense.<sup>1</sup> This is exactly similar to the statement '*arthah padam*' (S.Y.V.P. 3.2.) found in *Śukla Yajurveda Prātiśākhya* and also to the statement '*śaktam padam*' made by Sanskrit logicians. But the authors of *Vīracōḷiyam* and *Pirayōkavivēkam* follow Pāṇini's definition '*suplīnantam padam*' (P.A. 1.4.14.), since they say that a particle *su* is added at the end of nouns in the nominative singular and then it is dropped,<sup>2</sup> as is done in the case of the nominative singular of neuter nouns in Sanskrit like *śuci*, *madhu*, etc. and generally of masculine and feminine nouns whose base ends in a consonant like *vāc*, *bhīṣaj*, etc. By so doing they have distorted the perspective through which the linguistic phenomena of the Tamil language should be analysed and evaluated. For, in the Tamil language gender is generally determined by sex, and at no stage grammatical gender was recognised as a category distinct from natural gender.

3.2. *Classification*:—Parts of speech are, in the opinion of *Tolkāppiyāṇār*, *Naṇṇūlār* and the later grammarians, primarily two in number, *viz.*, *peyar* and *viṇai*, and they would, in a secondary sense, give the dignity of parts of speech to two more categories, *viz.*, *iṭai-c-col* and *uri-c-col*.<sup>3</sup> A striking parallelism is discernible between this classification and that in *Yāska's*

1. *Ellā-c collum poruḷ-kuṇṇit taṅṅavē.* (Tol. Col. 155.)

2. .... *oruvaṅ orutti y-onṅi ṅēṅiya cu eikūm*  
*Aliyum-ūṅiya cu.* (V.V. 5) & (P.V. p. 12, line 7).

3. *Col-l-eṅ-a-p paṭuṭa peyarē viṇai-y-eṅ*  
*R-ā-y-iraṅ t-eṅpa v-aṅintici ṅūrē.* (Tol. Col. 158.)  
*ṅai-c-coṅ kiḷavi-y-u m-uriccōṅ kiḷaviyūm*  
*Avarru-vali maruṅkiṅ ṅōṅṅu m-eṅpa.* (ibid. 159.)

Nirukta '*catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyātē ca upasarganipātāśca*' (Y.N. 8.8). As Durgācārya points out,<sup>1</sup> the priority given to *nāma* and *ākhyāta* indicates their primary importance, while *upasarga* and *nipāta* are assigned to a subordinate position.

A somewhat similar classification is also found in Ṛg-veda Prātiśākhya and Śukla Yajur-veda Prātiśākhya:—

*Nāmākhyātam upasargō nipātāścatvāri āhuḥ padajātāni śābdāḥ* (R.V.P. 12.5).

*Nāmākhyātōpasarganipātāḥ* (S.Y.V.P. 8.44).

It would become apparent from what follows in this section that Tolkāppiyaṅār had perhaps this classification of Nirukta and Prātiśākhyas for his model and introduced slight variations. While the first two of the four classes, viz., *nāma*=*peyar-c-col*, *ākhyāta*=*viṇai-c-col* are kept intact, the third and the fourth classes were grouped into one, viz., *iṭai-c-col* and a new fourth class, *uri-c-col*, was introduced for the sake of consistency with the Sanskritic model.

3.21. *Peyar*: 3.211. *Definition*: Tolkāppiyaṅār has not clearly defined what *peyar* is. But from the list of *peyar* given by him in *Peyar-iyal*, the fifth section of the second Chapter of Tolkāppiyam, it seems to me that *peyar* is a word denoting a person or an object. This agrees with the definition of *nāma* given in Ṛg-veda Prātiśākhya as '*sattvābhīdhāyakam nāma*' (R.V.P. 12.8) where *sattva* evidently means *dravya* or object. cf. *sattva . . . śabdaḥ astyēva dravyapadārthakaḥ*: (M.B. i. 341.2). Hence Tolkāppiyaṅār does not seem to include abstract nouns under *peyar*. His statement that *peyar* does not denote time except when it is a verbal noun,<sup>2</sup> that it takes a finite

1. *Atra nāmākhyātayōḥ pūrvam abhidhānam, prūdhānyāt, aprūdhānyāt upasarga-nipātānām paścāt | Ubhē api nāmākhyātē nipātōpasarganirapēkṣē api satī svam artham brūtaḥ | Na tu upasarganipātānām nāmākhyāta-nirapēkṣānām arthō'sti ||* (Durgācārya's Comm. on Y.N. 8.8.)

2. *Peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi kūlan iṭṭyū Tolṭṭilai y-ottu m-onṭalan kaṭai-y-ē.* (Tol. Col. 70.)



verb after it<sup>1</sup> and that the case-suffixes are added after it<sup>2</sup> simply explains *peyar*; it does not define it as interpreted by commentators.

Nanṅūlār and later grammarians have, like the above-mentioned commentators, adopted this as its definition<sup>3</sup> and hence have included numerals<sup>4</sup> and abstract nouns also under *peyar*,<sup>5</sup> though they sometimes use the word *nāmam* itself in place of *peyar*.<sup>6</sup> In Tamil, *peyar* denotes nouns, pronouns and numerals.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Poruṅmai cuṭṭal viyaṅkoḷa varuṭal*  
*Viṅṅai-nilai y-uraittal viṅṅā v-iṅ kēṅṅal*  
*Paṅṅu-koḷa varuṭal peyar-koḷa varuṭalen*  
*R-aṅṅi y-aṅṅaittum peyar-p-paya ṅilai-y-ē. (ibid. 66.)*
2. *Kūṅṅiya muṅṅai-y-i ṅ-uruṅṅu-nilai tiriyā*  
*T-iṅṅu-peyar-k k-āku m-iyorṅṅaiya v-eṅṅa. (ibid. 69.)*
3. *Ituṅṅuṅi kārāṅṅa maraṅṅō t-āṅṅan*  
*Toṅṅarntu toḷil-ala kālan iṅṅṅā*  
*Vēṅṅumai-k-k-iṅṅ-ā-y-t tiṅṅai-pā l-iṅṅat-t-oṅṅū*  
*Ēṅṅavum potu-v-u m-āvaṅṅa peyar-ē. (Na. 275.)*
4. *Viṅṅā-c-cuṭ t-uṅṅum vēṅṅu m-āmporuṅ*  
*Āti y-urūtu-c cuṭṅṅai y-āytam*  
*Oṅṅ ṅ eṅ ṅ-iṅṅṅaṅa v-oṅṅoṅṅ peyar-ē. (ibid. 279.)*  
*Muṅṅṅa r-a-v-v-oṅṅū varuvai ya-v-v-um*  
*Cuṭṅṅu va-v-v-uṅ kaḷ-ḷ-iṅṅu moḷiyum*  
*Oṅṅa l-eṅṅu m-uḷḷa v-illa*  
*Palla cilla v-uḷa-v-ila pala-cila*  
*Iṅṅavum palaviṅṅ peyar-ā kum-m-ē. (ibid. 280.)*
5. *Viṅṅaiyṅṅ peyar-ē paṅṅarkkai viṅṅaiyāl*  
*Aṅṅaiyum peyar-ē y-āṅṅtu m-ākum. (ibid. 286.)*  
*Pal-vakai-p paṅṅum pakar-peya r-āki*  
*Oru-kuṅṅam pala-kuṅṅan taḷuvi-p peyar-viṅṅai*  
*Oruṅṅā ceyyuṅṅku uriyaṅṅa uriccol. (ibid. 442.)*
6. *Paṅṅarkkai viṅṅai-muṅṅu nāmaṅṅ kuṅṅiṅṅu*  
*Peṅṅappaṅṅun tiṅṅai-pā l-aṅṅaittu m-ēṅṅai*  
*Ittavarṅṅ ṅorumai paṅṅmai-p pāl-ē. (ibid. 265) and (I. V. 167.)*
7. It is clear from the expression 'eṅṅu-k-kuṅṅi-p-peyar' in  
*Palla pala-cila v-eṅṅum peyarum*  
*Uḷḷa v-illa v-eṅṅum peyarum*



3.212: *Classification*: 3.2121. *Peyar* is classified under three heads:—(1) *Uyartiṇai* or high caste (2) *aṣṟiṇai* or casteless and (3) *viravu-t-tiṇai* or caste common to both. Tolkāppiyaṇār defines *uyartiṇai* as words denoting human beings, and *aṣṟiṇai* as words denoting objects other than human beings<sup>1</sup>. He includes words denoting gods under *uyartiṇai*.<sup>2</sup> The author of the Nēminātam includes *narakar* also under *uyartiṇai*.<sup>3</sup> He is followed by Naṇṇūlār.<sup>4</sup> The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam repeats what is said by Tolkāppiyaṇār<sup>5</sup>.

3.2122. *Uyartiṇai* is divided into three *pāls*, viz., *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl* and *palarpāl*. *Āṇpāl* is that which denotes a male, *peṇpāl*, a female and *palarpāl*, more than one male or female.

*Vinai-p-peyar-k kiḷaviyum paṇṇu-koḷa peyarum*  
*Iṇaitteya-k kiḷakku m-eṇṇu-k-kuṇip peyarum*  
*Oppiṇṇūkiya peyar-nilai-y-uḷuppaṭa*  
*A-p-pā l-ēṇṇatu m-avarṇṇ r-ōṇṇa.* (Tol. Col. 168.)

that the words *oppū*, *iraṇṇū* etc., are nouns according to Tolkāppiyaṇār only when they respectively mean one object, two objects, etc.

1. *Uyartiṇai y-eṇṇaṇṇār makkaḷ cuttē*  
*Aṣṟiṇai y-eṇṇaṇṇār r-avarala piṇṇarē*  
*Ā-y-irutiṇaiyi ṇ-icaikkumaṇṇa collē.* (Tol. Col. 1.)
2. *Peṇmai cuttīya v-uyartiṇai maruṅkiṇ*  
*Āṇmai tirinta peyar-nilai-k kiḷaviyum*  
*Teyvaṇ cuttīya peyar-nilai-k kiḷaviyum*  
*I-v-e-ṇṇa v-aṇṇiyum-an tan-tamak kilavē*  
*Uyartiṇai maruṅkiṇ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum.* (ibid. 4.)
3. *Ēṇṇa tiṇai-y-iraṇṇum pāl-aintu m-ēl-vaḷuvum*  
*Vēṇṇumai y-eṇṇu-n tokai-y-āru-māṇṇariya*  
*Mūṇṇitamun kālāṅkaṇ mūṇṇu m-iraṇṇi-tattār*  
*Rṇṇa v-urairpatāṇ col.* (N. N. Col. 2.)
4. *Makkaḷ tēvar naraka r-uyartiṇai*  
*Māṇṇu r-uḷḷavu m-illavu m-aṣṟiṇai.* (Na. 261.)
5. *Uyartiṇai y-eṇṇaṇṇār makkaḷ cuttē*  
*Aṣṟiṇai y-eṇṇaṇṇār r-avarala piṇṇarē.* (I. V. 162.)  
*Teyvamum pēḷum-ū m-a-v-v-iru pakutiyum*  
*I-v-e-ṇṇa v-aṇṇiyum-an tan-tamak k-ilavē*  
*Uyartiṇai marruṅkiṇ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum.* (I. V. 165.)

Similarly *aeriṇai* is divided into two *pāls*, viz., *oṅṅaṅpāl* and *paḷaviṅpāl*. *Oṅṅaṅpāl* is that which denotes one animal other than a human being, or a lifeless object and *paḷaviṅpāl* is that which denotes more than one of them. Hence it is evident that gender and number are not taken as separate entities in Tamil language, and that the *pāl* or the gender and number in Tamil nouns are determined more from their meaning than from their ending, though it is generally stated that the ending *y*<sup>1</sup> denotes masculine singular,<sup>2</sup> *l*, feminine singular, *r*, *mār*<sup>3</sup> epicene plural, *tū*<sup>4</sup> neuter<sup>5</sup> singular and *a*<sup>6</sup> neuter plural. Though the word *peṅ-makaṅ* ends in *y*, it is feminine singular; though *makkal* ends in *l*, it is epicene plural; though *āl* ends in *l*, it is common gender singular, and so on.

3.213. Declension: 3.2131. General points in Declension: 3.21311. Case: There are, in Tamil, 8 cases. The cases from the accusative to the locative were, it seems to me, named after their suffixes by the Tamil grammarians who lived before Tolkaṅṅiyanār, as *ai-vēṅṅumai*,<sup>7</sup> *oṅṅu-vēṅṅumai*, *ku-vēṅṅumai*, *iṅ-vēṅṅumai* *atu-vēṅṅumai* and *kaṅ-vēṅṅumai*,<sup>8</sup> but the vocative

1. *Naṅkā ṅ-oṅṅē y-āṅṅu v-aṅṅi-col.* (Tol. Col. 5.)

2. *ḷ-aṅkā ṅ-oṅṅē makaṅṅu v-aṅṅi-col.* (ibid. 6.)

3. *Raṅkā ṅ-oṅṅum paḷara v-iṅṅutiyum*  
*Mārai-k kiḷavi yuṅ-uḷappaṅa mūṅṅum*  
*Nāra-t tōṅṅum paḷar-aṅṅi collē.* (ibid. 7.)

4. *Oṅṅaṅṅi kiḷavi ta-ṅa-ṅa v-ūrnta*  
*Kuṅṅiya luḷara-t t-iṅṅuti y-āṅṅum.* (ibid. 8.)

5. It is to be understood that the words *masculine singular*, *feminine singular* and *neuter singular*, *gender*, do not at all correspond to *āṅpāl* and *oṅṅaṅpāl*, since the classification of *pāl* and that of *gender* are entirely on different bases; but for want of better terms they are used here to denote them.

6. *A ā va-eṅṅa varūu m-iṅṅuti*  
*A-p-pāṅṅ mūṅṅē paḷa-v-aṅṅi collē.* (Tol. Col. 9.)

7. The Tamil word *vēṅṅumai* seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit word *vidhakti*.

8. *Iraṅṅū kuvaṅṅē*  
*Ai-y-eṅṅa-p peyariya vēṅṅumai-k kiḷavi.....* (Tol. Col. 71.)

was called *viḷi-vēṟṟumai* from the sense which it conveyed, and the nominative, *peyar-vēṟṟumai*. Tolkāppiyaṅār, though he adopted the name *viḷi-vēṟṟumai* and *peyar-vēṟṟumai* for the vocative, and the nominative cases respectively, began to name the cases from the accusative to the locative as *iraṇṇām vēṟṟumai*, *mūṇṇām vēṟṟumai*, *nāṅkām vēṟṟumai*, *aiṇṇām vēṟṟumai*, *āṟām vēṟṟumai*, and *ēḷām vēṟṟumai*. This he did, perhaps on the model of Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini and his predecessors who called them *dvitīyā*, *ṛtīyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcamī*, *ṣaṣṭhī* and *saptamī*<sup>1</sup> respectively. The name *viḷi-vēṟṟumai* corresponds in sense to *sambuddhi*, the name given by the early Sanskrit grammarians to the vocative singular. Tolkāppiyaṅār did not change the names of *peyar-vēṟṟumai* and *viḷi-vēṟṟumai* perhaps because they were not represented by suffixes. On the other hand, Naṅṇūlar began to call *viḷi-vēṟṟumai*, *eṭṭām-vēṟṟumai*,<sup>2</sup> and in modern times *peyar-vēṟṟumai* also is called *mutal-vēṟṟumai*.

*Mūṇṇō kuvatē*

*Oṭu-eṇ-a-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi...* (ibid. 73.)

*Nāṅkū kuvatē*

*Ku eṇ-a-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi...* (ibid. 75.)

*Aiṇṇō kuvatē*

*Iy-ṇ-a-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-kiḷavi...* (ibid. 77.)

*Āṟō kuvatē*

*Atu-v-eṇ-a-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi...* (ibid. 79.)

*Ēḷō kuvatē*

*Kaṇ-ṇ-eṇ-a-p peyariya vēṟṟumai-k kiḷavi...* (ibid. 81.)

1. *Karmaṇi dvitīyā*. (P. A. 2, 3, 2.)

*Karṭṭ-karaṇayōṣi ṛtīyā*. (ibid. 18.)

*Caturthī sampradānē*. (ibid. 13.)

*Apādānē pañcamī*. (ibid. 28.)

*Ṣaṣṭhī śēṣē*. (ibid. 50.)

*Saptamydhikaraṇē ca*. (ibid. 36.)

2. *Eṭṭa ṇ-urupō y-eytu-peya rīṟṟiṇ*

*Tiripu kuṇṇal mikuta l-iyalṭpayal*

*Tiripu m-ōm poruḷ paṭarkkai y-ṭrai-t*

*Taṇmuka m-ōka-t tāṇ-aḷai-p patuvē*. (Na. 303.)

3.21312. *Number*: Tolkāppiyaṅār and all the later grammarians have mentioned only two numbers, singular and plural. The plural suffixes may be used, according to them, to denote honorific singular.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Caldwell seems to think that *nām* is a species of dual<sup>2</sup> and denotes the speaker and the person spoken to. But it is found used with reference to not only the speaker and the person spoken to, but also a third person or persons standing near them. Hence there does not seem to be adequate justification for treating *nām* as a species of dual.

3.21313. *Points of difference in Declension between Tamil and Sanskrit*: There are four important points to be noted in the declension of nouns and pronouns in Tamil where it differs from Sanskrit.

(1) One suffix in Tamil denotes both gender and number, (except the suffix *kaḷ* added to *ṁyartinaḷ* nouns in medieval and modern periods which denotes number alone) and another, case; while in Sanskrit, one *pratyaya* denotes gender and another both number and case.

(2) Tamil has no dual number, while Sanskrit has.

(3) The suffixes of the second, third and seventh cases are added, in Tamil, to the *nominative case form and not to the base* as is done generally in Sanskrit.

(4) *Cāriyai* or flexional increments are added in Tamil between the noun and the case suffixes. They are not ordinarily recognisable in Sanskrit except 'n' which is inserted between the stems ending in a vowel and the genitive plural suffix and the

1. *Iyaṅpeyar muṅṅa r-ārāi-k kiḷavi*

*Palar-k-k-urī y-eḷuttin viṅṅai-yotū varumē.* (Tol. Col. 270.)

*Oruvaṅ-orutti-y-ṅ rāṅ-ciraṅṅāḷṅ pālṅr-palavai-k*

*Karutu-muṅṅaiyṅ kalappaṅṅa-vēṅṅumai kōṅ-mutaḷ-cu*

*Maruvum-ar-ār-arkaḷ ārkaḷ-kaḷ mār-mutaḷ-vēṅṅumaiyṅ*

*Uruvam-viḷi-vēṅ ṅumai-y-olittēṅku mura-p-peṅṅumē.* (V. V. 2.)

2. C. D. G. pp. 222, 223 :—Two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, one of which includes the party addressed as well as the party of speaker, and which may therefore be considered as a *species of dual* etc.

instrumental singular suffix, through analogy with the corresponding cases of stems ending in *n*. (e.g. *Rāmā-ṅ-ām*, *Harī-ṅ-ām*, *Harīṅā* through analogy with *ātman-ām*, *guṇin-ām* and *guṇinā*).

On the other hand, in the graded declensions in Sanskrit, stems exhibit different grades of vowel-variation. Such vowel-variations are not generally found in Tamil except to some extent in the declension of pronouns. (e. g. *nām*, *nammai*; *tāṅ*, *taṅṅai*, etc.)

3.2132. *Case-suffixes*: 3.21321. Case-suffixes from the first to the seventh are the following:

Ancient period.	Medieval Period. <sup>1</sup>	Modern Period.
1st Case No suffix	No suffix	No suffix
2nd case <i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>
3rd case <i>oṅu</i> ( <i>āṅ</i> also) <sup>2</sup>	<i>oṅu</i> , <i>ōṅu</i> , <i>āl</i> , <i>āṅ</i>	<i>oṅu</i> , <i>ōṅu</i> , <i>āl</i> , <i>āṅ</i>
4th case <i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>
5th case <i>iṅ</i>	<i>iṅ</i> , <i>il</i>	<i>iṅ</i> , <i>il</i>
6th case <i>atu</i> (if the following word is <i>aṅṅai</i> )	<i>atu</i> , <i>ātu</i> , (if the following noun is singular)	<i>atu</i> , <i>ātu</i>
<i>ku</i> (if the following word is <i>uyarṅai</i> )	<i>a</i> (if the following noun is plural)	<i>a</i>
7th case <i>kaṅ</i>	<sup>3</sup> <i>il</i> , <i>kaṅ</i> , <i>kāl</i> , <i>kaṅai</i> , etc.	<i>kaṅ</i> , <i>kāl</i> , <i>kaṅai</i> , etc.

1. In the medieval period, since what is stated by the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* is entirely different from that of others, I have not mentioned it here but in 3.21324.

2. *Tolkāppiyāṅṅār* has mentioned 'āṅ' in  
*Ku-ai āṅ-eyā varū m-iṅṅai*  
*A-v-o-ōṅ civaṅṅ ceyyū i-uḷḷē.* (Tol. Col. 108.)

though he has not stated that it denotes third case.

3. *Kaṅ-kāl kaṅai-iṅṅai talai-vāy tīcai-vayiy*  
*Muy-cār valam-iṅṅam mēl-kāl puṅṅai-mutal*

3.21322. *Vocative case*: There is generally no special suffix to denote vocative case. If the person addressed is very near the speaker, the nominative case form itself is used if the word ends in a vowel or *āy*. If the person addressed is at a great distance from the speaker, the quantity of the last vowel of the word is increased. (e.g. *namṭī*, *makkāḷ*, etc. Tol. Col. 152.) This is quite similar to the practice recorded in Pāṇini's statement '*dūrāddhūtē ca*' (P. A. 8.2.24.). If the person addressed is neither very near to, nor at a distance from, the speaker, the following changes take place:—

(1) If the noun ends in *i*, *i* is lengthened to *ī*. e.g. *namṭī*.

(2) If it ends in *ai*, *ai* is changed to *āy*; e.g. *naṅkāy*, *aṅṅāy*; but in words of relationship like *aṅṅai*, *ai* is also changed to *ā*. e.g. *aṅṅā*.

(3) If it ends in *ō* or *u*, *ē* is added at the end. e.g. *kō-v-ē*, *tīru-v-ē*, etc.

(4) If it ends in *y* like *cōḷaṅ*, *y* is dropped if the person spoken to is near the speaker (*cōḷa*), and *a* is also lengthened if he is a little away from him (*cōḷā*); if it is a verbal noun like *vantāy* or noun derived from a word denoting quality like *kariyāy*, *y* is changed to *y*; if *y* is preceded by *ā*, like *cēramāy*, there is no change; if it denotes relationship as *makaṅ*, *ē* is added at the end.

(5) If it ends in *r* preceded by *a* or *ā*, *a* or *ā* is changed to *ī*. (e.g. *kūttar*—*kūttīr*, *pārppār*—*pārppīr*; cf. *cennā-p-pulavīr* (oh! poets of refined speech) (P.N. 140, 2); if it is a verbal noun or one derived from a word denoting quality, *a* or *ā* is changed to *ī* and *ē* is added at the end. (e.g. *vantār-vantīrē*; *kariyār - kariyīrē*.)

(6) If it ends in *l* or *ḷ*, the preceding vowel is generally lengthened. E. g. *kuricil* - *kuricīl*; *makkal* - *makkāl*. This is similar to Pāṇini's statement '*vākyasya ṣṣḥ pluta udāttaḥ*' (P. A.

*Piṅ-pāṭṭū aḷai-tēm uḷai-vali uḷi-uḷi*

*Uḷ-akam puṇam-iī iṭa-p-poru ḷ-urupē* (Na. 302.)

8.2.82.) If it ends in *l̥* and is a verbal noun or a noun derived from a word denoting quality and if it is preceded by *ā*, *l̥* is changed to *y* (e.g., *niṅṟāḷ-niṅṟāy*; *karivāḷ - karivāy*). If it ends in *l̥* and denotes relationship, *ē* is added at the end (e.g. *makaḷ - makaḷē*).

(7) If nouns denoting *aeṟiṅai* have to be used in the vocative case, *ē* is invariably added at the end. (e.g. *puḷi-y-ē*, etc.)

The nouns ending in other letters have the same form in the vocative, as in the nominative case.

As regards the formation of the vocative case there is practically very little difference in all the three periods—ancient, medieval and modern<sup>1</sup>.

3.21323. *Special points regarding certain case-suffixes mentioned above:*—In an attempt to give an historical exposition of grammatical theories in Tamil, the following points regarding certain cases deserve special notice.

3.213231. *7th case-suffix:*—As regards the 7th case-suffix in the ancient period, Tolkāppiyaṅṟar gives two sūtras (Tol. Col. 81 and 82), the latter of which is the following:—

*Kaṅ-kāl puṟam-aka m-uḷ-ḷ-uḷai kīḷ-mēl*  
*Piṅ-cā r-ayal-puḷai tēvakai y-eṅḍā*  
*Muṅ-ṅ-iḷai kaḷai-talai valam-iḷa m-eṅḍā*  
*Aṅṅa piṟavu m-atay-pāla v-eṅṁṁṅār.* (Tol. Col. 82.)

This stanza is interpreted by ḷampūraṅṟar and Naccīṅṟark-kiṅṟiyar to denote the *suffixes* which may come in the place of *kaṅ*, the 7th case-suffix; but Cēṅṁvaraiyar interprets it to denote the *different meanings* of *kaṅ*, the seventh case-suffix. Naṅṅūḷār and all the later grammarians agree with ḷampūraṅṟar. But the arguments set forth against it by Cēṅṁvaraiyar under the same sūtra appear to be convincing and my discussion in detail on the same is found in pages 94 to 96 of my *Collatikāra-k-kuṟippū* A critical study of collatikāram of Tolkāppiyam which was pub-

1. The above points are mentioned in *viḷimaraṅṟu* of Tolkāppiyam, and sūtras 304 to 314 of Naṅṅūḷ.



lished in 1930. One or two of the most important points may be mentioned here. If the latter sūtra makes mention of suffixes, the suffix *kaṇ* which finds a place in the sūtra

*Eḷā kuvatē*

*Kaṇ-ṇ-ḥa-ḥ peyariya vēṇṇumai-kkīlavi*

*Viṇai-ḥey y-iṭatti ṇilattiṇ kāiattiṇ*

*Aṇai-vakai-k kuṇṇiṇ ṇḍuṇu m-atuvē.*

(Tol. Col. 81.)

need not be repeated here; *lēvakai* which is found in this sūtra is taken by all the commentators not as a case-suffix but as the meaning of the case-suffix *kaṇ*; if *akam* be taken as a suffix, the *cāriyai allu* that is found in the expression '*ūrakattiruntāy*' (he was in the village) would be quite out of place, since the *cāriyai* can come only between a noun and a case suffix and not between a noun followed by a case-suffix and a verb.

3.213232. 6th case-suffixes:—As regards the sixth case-suffixes, it deserves to be noted that Tolkāppiyaṇār says that it is *ku* if it is followed by an *uyartiṇai* noun<sup>1</sup> and *atu* in other places; and Naṇṇūlār does not make any mention of *ku* and proceeds to make a new point by observing that '*atū*' and '*ātū*' are used if the following noun is singular, and '*a*' is used if it is plural. It seems strange here that the same element '*atu*' affixed to nouns or pronouns denotes the gender of the noun which they qualify according to Tolkāppiyaṇār and its number according to Naṇṇūlār. It seems to me that the latter has stated so since numerous expressions like '*niṇṇa kaṇṇiyum* (even thy garlands) (P. N. 45.3.), *avara kāppuṭaiya kayam* (their protected wells) (P.N. 15.9.), *ematu ucciyārē* (T. 21.1 to 7)' were found used before his time. I venture to suggest the following reason for such a usage:—We see that, in expressions like '*kai eyatū*' (hand is mine) and '*kaikaḷ ḥa*' (hands are mine), the suffixes *atu* and *a* denote respectively singular and plural. Here

1. Here I have followed the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar on the sūtra.

*Atu-ḥey vēṇṇumai y-uyartiṇai-t tokai-vayiy*

*Atu-ḥe ṇ-arupu-keṭa-k kukaram varuvē.* (Tol. Col. 94.)



*tū* and *a* are regular since they are the verbal terminations denoting *onraṅpāl* and *paḷaviṅpāl*; but when expressions like 'eṅatū kai' (my hand) and 'eṅatū kaikaḷ' (my hands) where *atu* at the end of *eṅatū* is not a verbal termination, but the sixth case-suffix, were used, it may have been wrongly understood that *atū* in both *eṅatū kai* and *kai eṅatū* was the same sixth case-suffix. This may have led to the feeling that *atū* in 'eṅatū kaikaḷ' should be treated as a mistake and changed to 'eṅa kaikaḷ' on the analogy of 'kaikaḷ eṅa'. Or expressions like *pōkā tama* (K. 376) may have led to it. Here *tama* which, in its origin is a plural appellative verb formed by adding *a* to *tam* is found used as a participial noun and means *one's own objects*. Thus expressions like '*tama poruḷkaḷ*' in the sense of *objects which are one's own* may have come into vogue. In such instances *a* of *tama* may have been mistaken for the sixth case-suffix added to words accompanied by plural nouns.

The following examples clearly support Tolkāppiyaṅār's view that the noun or pronoun having the suffix '*atū*' may be accompanied by a neuter noun irrespective of its being singular or plural.

*Niṅatiru tiru-v-aṭi* (Your two feet). (Cilap. 24, p. 518, 2nd edn.)

*Iṅaiṅatū aṭiyiṅai* (God's two feet). (T. 127.5.)

*Uṅatū aṭiyār maṅattāyō* (Are you of the minds of your devotees). (P.T. 150.7.)

*N.B.*—Here *aṭi* and *maṅam* are neuter plurals.

3.213233. *Fifth case-suffix 'il'*:—Tolkāppiyaṅār recognises '*iṅ*' as the fifth case-suffix, whereas '*il*' has taken its place in Viracōḷiyam and is found used along with '*iṅ*' in Naṅṅūl and other later works. No attempt appears to have so far been made to discover the process by which Tolkāppiyaṅār's '*iṅ*' may have been metamorphosed into '*il*' at the hands of the author of Viracōḷiyam.

For this I would suggest the following solution: Consider the following equations:

$kōl + naṇmai = kōṇaṇmai$   
 $kōṇ + naṇmai = kōṇaṇmai.$

If we reverse the process, it is easy to see that there are two possible legitimate ways of splitting *kōṇaṇmai*. This may have proved to be a fruitful source of confusion between the final *ṇ* and final *l*. Perhaps in similar cases of sandhi like *aracaṇiṇallaṇ* (*aracaṇiṇ + nallaṇ* or *aracaṇil + nallaṇ*), a bias may have been developed in favour of the latter alternative *aracaṇil + nallaṇ*. Thus 'il' may have come to usurp the place of 'iṇ' as the suffix of fifth case.

3.213234. *Third case-suffix 'āl'*:—Tolkāppiyāṇār's 'āṇ' used as an instrumental suffix<sup>1</sup> perhaps underwent the same vicissitude as *iṇ*, the fifth case-suffix, and came to be replaced by *āl* (the third case-suffix) in *Viracōliyam*. It is found used along with *āṇ* in *Naṇṇūl* and other later works.

3.21324. The author of *Viracōliyam* adopts a different plan for explaining case forms. As has already been said, he adopted Pāṇini's definition of *padam* and combines both the element that denotes the number and the element that denotes the case as one denoting case and number, since only one *pratyaya* denotes both number and case in Sanskrit. Besides, he says that 'cu' is the *pratyaya* for the first case singular and it is always dropped. This is evidently done in close imitation of Pāṇini's Grammar.<sup>2</sup> According to him the case-suffixes are the following:—

Singular:	Honorific Singular & Plural:
1st case <i>cu</i> (dropped afterwards)	<i>ar, ār, arkaḷ, ārkaḷ, kaḷ, māṛ &amp; (cu in the neuter).</i>
2nd case <i>ai</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>ai</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>
3rd case <i>oḷu, oḷu, āl</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>oḷu, oḷu, āl</i> preceded by <i>ar, ār, etc.</i>

1. *Ku-ai āṇ-eṇa varū m-iṇuti*

*A-v-v-otū civaṇuṇ ceyyu l-uḷḷā.* (ibid. 108.)

2. The author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* follows him in this point. Cf. *arupeyarc colḷeṇa cuppōṇi nūṅkam.* (P. V. 37. Comm.)

Singular :	Honorific Singular & Plural :
4th case <i>ku</i> , <i>poruṭṭu</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>ku</i> , <i>poruṭṭu</i> preceded by <i>ar</i> , <i>ār</i> , etc.
5th case <i>niṇṇu</i> preceded by <i>kaṇ</i> , <i>il</i> , etc. preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>niṇṇu</i> preceded by <i>kaṇ</i> , <i>il</i> , etc. preceded by <i>ar</i> , <i>ār</i> , etc.
6th case <i>uṭaiyāṇ</i> (āṇpāl) <i>uṭaiyāl</i> (peṇpāl) <i>uṭaiyatū</i> (oṇraṇpāl) ( <i>ku</i> preceded by <i>cu</i> when the 6th case becomes a <i>kāraka</i> .)	<i>uṭaiyār</i> , <i>uṭaiyārkaḷ</i> (palarpāl) <i>uṭaiyiṇa</i> (palaviṇpāl) ( <i>ku</i> preceded by <i>ar</i> , <i>ār</i> , etc. when the 6th case becomes a <i>kāraka</i> .)
7th case <i>kē</i> , <i>uḷai</i> , <i>il</i> , <i>kaṇ</i> and other words denoting place preceded by <i>cu</i> .	<i>kē</i> , <i>uḷai</i> , etc., preceded by <i>ar</i> , <i>ār</i> , etc.

3.213241. The points to be noted here are.—(1) The mention of 'ar' as the pluralising particle of nouns, while 'r' alone is said to be so by Tolkāppiyāṇār. It is shown in my article on *Cuṭṭeluttu* that a of *ar* is only ademonstrative root and has nothing to do with the plural number.

(2) The mention of the forms *arkaḷ* and *ārkaḷ*; these are evidently cases of double plurals not sanctioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār. The latter says that 'kaḷ' may be affixed only to neuter nouns to denote plural number as *māṭukaḷ* (bulls), but that too was not absolutely necessary. According to him and even the later grammarians, we may say *māṭū vantaṇa* (bulls came). Hence it is very likely that *kaḷ* which was originally added only to denote *palaviṇpāl*, may have been used through analogy to denote *palarpāl*, (e.g. *nōṇpi-kaḷ* (M.M. 3.75); *vacukkaḷ* (T. 42.5) and then it may have been added to plural forms both in *palarpāl* and *palaviṇpāl*. Then it seems to me that it was further extended through analogy to verbs also.

Examples of these double plurals and the use of *kaḷ* after *uyartinai* nouns are found in very few instances in Cilappatikāram (e.g. *peṇṭirkāḷ* Cilap. 469.4) and in plenty in works of Śaiva and

Vaiṣṇava literature and certain other works belonging to the period from 6th to 9th century A.D. and in the inscriptions of the later period.

*Pattarkaḷ payilavaittār* (the temple purohīts made them learn) (T. 27.2),

*Ivai pāḷum tavamuṭaiyārkaḷ* (they have the fortune of singing these) (P.T. 96.10).

*Eṇvakai vacukkaḷōḷū* (with eight kinds of Vasus)  
(T. 42.5.)

*Sēṇāpatikaḷ*. (S. I. I. iii, iv, 133.)

It is worthy of note that such a use of *kaḷ* is not at all found in the earlier works of the Sangam period like *Puraṇānūṟu*, *Paṭiṟruppattū*, etc.

In this connection I may say that, so far as Tamil is concerned, I do not agree with M. J. Vinson who thinks that the general plural sign in Dravidian is *gaḷ* or *kaḷ* and *r* another form of plural is of relatively modern origin<sup>1</sup>. The reasons set forth below support my view on this point:—(1) According to *Tolkāppiyaṇār* there may have been a period when '*r*' was used and '*kaḷ*' was not.

(2) In words like *aracarkaḷ* (kings), *kaḷ* does not displace *r* but is added only after it.

(3) '*R*' is found in the verbal forms as a plural element in Tamil, Telugu and Canarese from the ancient times, and *kaḷ* is not found as such in Canarese and Telugu even now. (e.g. Tel. *cēsiri*: Kan. *geydir*.)

(4) '*R*' may have been a plural element common to both the Dravidian and Indo-European languages since '*r*' is found in Sanskrit *lēbhirē*.

It may be useful to observe in this connection that the practice of supporting the view that Tamil is a language of the suffix agglutinating type, by illustrations involving the suffix *kaḷ* (*paḷaṇai*, *paḷaṇkaḷai*) may easily be called into question, in view of the fact, that, according to *Tolkāppiyaṇār*, there may have been a period in the history of Tamil when forms like *paḷaṇai*

1. J. A. Dixeme Serie Tome 17, Le Pluriel Primitif en-M.

were used both in *oyraṅpāl* and *ṣalaviṅpāl* and forms like *aracarai* were used to denote *ṣalarpāl*.

3.213242. Forms having *ōṭū* as the third case-suffix are rare in the works of Sangam period, but in later works they occur more frequently than the forms with *oṭu*.

*Malar magaḷōḍu* (with Lakṣmi). (I. A. Vol. 22, p. 70-M. M. P.)

*Kol-kaliṅṅōḍum* (even with war-bulls). Do.

*Muṅi tāṅ unaiyōṭū miyaṅki* (Śiva having been in the company of Pārvatī). (T. 110. 5.)

*Aṅṅu āyarkula-k-koṭiyōṭu* (on that day with (Kṛṣṇa) the banner of the families of shepherds). (P. T. 37.1.)

3.2113243. The sixth case-suffixes mentioned by the author of *Viracōliyam* are *uṭaiyāṅ*, etc., and his commentator gives *ivaṅ korraṅuṭaiyāṅ*, *ivaḷ korraṅuṭaiyāḷ* etc. as examples for the same. But *korraṅuṭaiyāṅ*, *korraṅuṭaiyāḷ*, etc. are only appellative verbs, and hence they cannot be words of the sixth case. He might have given *uṭaiya* as a sixth case-suffix for which he had many examples from the literature and inscriptions which were in existence in his time. The following are some of them:

*Ceytaraṅuṭaiya—tēvikku* (T. 106.3).

*Muṅ-ciyai-c-cavaiyōruṭaiya* (T. A. S. i. H. O. P. 5).

*Paviḷiya caraṅattāruṭaiya* (Ibid. p. 8).

3.21325. It will be interesting to note here that the practice of attributing case values to certain words became widely prevalent in the medieval and modern periods though it was not entirely unknown in early Sangam works. For instance, *kāl*, *tīcai* etc., were occasionally used in the place of the seventh case-suffix in early Sangam works, *ṣoruṭṭū* in the place of the fourth and *koṅṭū* in the place of the third (e.g.)

*Ūrkkāl nivanta* (Ka. T. i. 334, 1).

*Teyṅicai yāay kuṭi-y-iṅṅōyiy* (P. N. 132).

*Ilittay ṣoruṭṭū* (K. 784).

*Oru-kaṅai koṅṭū mū-v-ciyal uṭarri* (P. N. 55).

There are numerous such instances in the works of later period and in colloquial speech. (e.g.)

*uṣaṅ* as third case-suffix—*avaṇuṣaṅ*, *ivaṅ vantaṅ* (Colloq.)

*pārkkilum* as 5th case-suffix—*avaṇaippārkkilum*, *ivaṅ nallaṅ*  
(Colloq.)

*kāṭṭilum* Do. *avaṇa-k-kāṭṭilum* *ivaṅ nallaṅ*  
(Colloq.)

*iṭam* as the 7th case-suffix—*ūriṭam iruntāṅ* (Colloq.)

*iṭai* Do. *iruṅ kāṇiṭai* (Kampar. A. 232. 28.)

### 3.21326. INFLUENCE OF VĪRACŌLIYAM ON NAṆṆŪL

The author of Naṅṅūl follows the author of Viracōliyam in stating *kaḷ* as the pluralising particle of *uyartiṇai* nouns also, *ōṭu* and *āi* as suffixes of the 3rd case and *il* as a suffix of the seventh. But it is refreshing to see that Naṅṅūlār wisely refrained from introducing before all case-suffixes in the singular and after neuter plural the imaginary 'cu' which the author of Viracōliyam, owing to his Sanskritic obsession, did not hesitate to adopt.

3.2133. CLASSIFICATION: Though Tamil grammarians include pronouns in a comprehensive class called *peyar-c-col* which comprises nouns also, it seems to me proper to treat here noun declension separately from pronominal declension having regard to the fact that vowel-gradation which is a prominent feature of the latter type of declension is not found in the former.

3.21331. DECLENSION OF NOUNS: The declension of nouns in Tamil is much easier than that in Sanskrit. It is so fundamentally different as to form one of the points to show that Tamil and Sanskrit belong to entirely different families of languages. It may be divided into two classes : (1) declension of a *uyartiṇai* nouns and (2) that of *aṣṭiṇai* nouns. *Uyartiṇai* nouns may be classified under two heads :—(a) those that denote their *ṭiṇai* by their endings like *aracaṅ*, *vaṇikaṅ*, *kariyaṅ*, *kariyaḷ*, etc., (b) those that do not denote their *ṭiṇai* by their endings like *āṭṭū*, *makaṭṭū*, *tantai*, *aṅṅai*, *naṅkai*, *makkal*, *māntar*, etc.

#### Ancient Period

(1) a. <i>Āṅpāl</i> :	<i>Peṅpāl</i> :	<i>Palarpāl</i> :
<i>Ist case kariyaṅ</i>	<i>kariyaḷ</i>	<i>kariyar</i>

2nd case <i>kariyaṅṅai</i>	<i>kariyaḷai</i>	<i>kariyarai</i>
3rd case <i>kariyaṅṅoṭṭu</i>	<i>kariyaḷoṭṭu</i>	<i>kariyaroṭṭu</i>
<i>kariyaṅṅāṅ</i>	<i>kariyaḷāṅ</i>	<i>kariyarāṅ</i>
4th case <i>kariyaṅṅkū</i>	<i>kariyaḷukkū</i>	<i>kariyarkkū</i>
5th case <i>kariyaṅṅiṅ</i>	<i>kariyaḷiṅ</i>	<i>kariyariṅ</i>
6th case <i>kariyaratū</i>	<i>kariyaḷatū</i>	<i>kariyaratū</i>
<i>kariyaṅṅkū</i>	<i>kariyaḷukkū</i>	<i>kariyarkkū</i>
7th case <i>kariyaṅṅkaṅ</i>	<i>kariyaḷkaṅ</i>	<i>kariyarkaṅ</i>
8th case <i>kariyāy</i>	<i>kariyāy</i>	<i>kariyīr</i>
		<i>kariyīrē.</i>

But *makaṅ* has for its plural *makār.* (e.g. *makārōṭṭu*-Pattu. 431.253)

(1) b. (i)	<i>Āṅpāl:</i>	<i>Palarpāl:</i>
1st case	<i>tantai</i>	<i>tantaiyar</i>
2nd case	<i>tantaiyai</i>	<i>tantaiyarai</i>
3rd case	<i>tantaiyoṭṭu</i>	<i>tantaiyaroṭṭu</i>
	<i>tantaiyāṅ</i>	<i>tantaiyarāṅ</i>
Etc.	Etc.	Etc.
(ii)	<i>Peṅpāl:</i>	<i>Palarpāl:</i>
1st case	<i>aṅṅai</i>	<i>aṅṅaiyar</i>
2nd case	<i>aṅṅaiyai</i>	<i>aṅṅaiyarai</i>
3rd case	<i>aṅṅaiyoṭṭu</i>	<i>aṅṅaiyaroṭṭu</i>
	<i>aṅṅaiyāṅ</i>	<i>aṅṅaiyarāṅ</i>
Etc.	Etc.	Etc.

But *makaḷ* has for its plural *makaḷir* in the ancient period (e. g. *tiṅṅai kuru makaḷir*—Pattu. 435.342) and *makaḷirkaḷ* also in the later periods (e. g. *iṅṅai-y-irā makaḷirkaḷ* Kampar. B. 49.14).

There are certain nouns which are always plural in number. E. g. *māntar*, *makkaḷ*. The words *āṅṅū* and *makaḷū*, it appears to me, were used only in the singular number in the ancient period.

<i>Oṅṅaṅpāl:</i>	<i>Palaviṅpāl:</i>
1st case <i>ā</i>	<i>ā, ākkaḷ</i>
2nd case <i>āviṅṅai</i>	<i>āviṅṅai, ākkaḷai</i>
3rd case <i>āviṅṅoṭṭu, āviṅṅāṅ</i>	<i>āviṅṅoṭṭu, ākkaḷoṭṭu</i>
	<i>āviṅṅāṅ, ākkaḷāṅ</i>



<i>Oṅṅaṅṅal :</i>	<i>Palaviṅṅal :</i>
4th case <i>āviṅṅū</i>	<i>āviṅṅū, ākkāḷukku</i>
5th case <i>āviṅṅiṅ</i>	<i>āviṅṅiṅ, ākkāḷiṅ</i>
6th case <i>āviṅṅatū</i>	<i>āviṅṅatū, ākkāḷatū</i>
7th case <i>āviṅṅkaṅ</i>	<i>āviṅṅkaṅ, ākkāḷiṅkaṅ</i>
8th case <i>āvē</i>	<i>āvē, ākkāḷē.</i>

It deserves to be noted here that the *cāriyai* or flexional increment is added between the base of the noun and the case-suffix more commonly in the case of *aṅṅiṅai* nouns than in that of *nyartiṅai* nouns. There is a peculiarity in Tamil that all finite forms of verbs like *uṅṅēṅ uṅṅēm, uṅṅir, uṅṅāṅ, uṅṅār, uṅṅārkaḷ,* etc., take case-suffixes after them like the forms *uṅṅavaṅ, uṅṅavaḷ,* etc., when they are used as participial nouns. Such a usage is not found in Sanskrit except that the third person, singular, present parasmaipada of verbs is used as a substantive denoting the corresponding root and declined as such. e. g. *saktuḥ sacatēḥ* (M. B. i, 4.12.) which means that the word *saktuḥ* is derived from the root *sac*.

The following may serve as examples for using the finite verbs as participial nouns.

- Vempukiṅṅrēṅai* (me who am feeling sorry). (T. V. 6.78.)  
*Nāyēṅai-p-poruḷḷaḷutū* (having treated with grace me who am like a dog). (T. 31.3.)  
*Umakkē āḷāy-t-tirikiṅṅōmukku* (to us who are wandering as servants to you alone). (P. T. 92.4.)  
*Neṅumāḷukku aruḷ ceytāṅai* (him who has shown grace to Viṣṇu). (T. 217.2.)  
*Tēvarkaḷukku amutu īntāṅai* (to him who supplied the devas with nectar). (T. 217.2.)

3.213311. EXAMINATION OF DR. CALDWELL'S VIEWS: Dr. Caldwell says that 'the masculine singular suffix of the Tamil is *aṅ, āṅ* or *ōṅ*. *Āṅ*, the shorter formative is that which appears in the demonstrative pronoun *avaṅ (a-(v)-aṅ)*'.<sup>1</sup> He further says that 'indeed, *āṅ* and *ōṅ* have evidently been

1. C. D. G. 223.



formed not from *añ*, but from *a-v-añ* by the softening of the euphonic *v* and the coalescence of the vowels'.<sup>1</sup>

The first statement that *añ*, *āñ* or *ōñ* is the masculine singular suffix falls to the ground from the mention made by Tol-kāppiyanār that it is only *ñ*<sup>2</sup> that denotes it. It is shown in my article on *Cuṭṭeḷuttu*<sup>3</sup> that *a* of *añ* is a demonstrative root.

As regards the second point that *āñ* and *ōñ* are the corrupted forms of *avanñ*, it may be stated that 'a' and 'ā' never coalesce into *ā* in Tamil, nor can *v* be softened to *u* so that *a* and *u* may become *ō* as in Sanskrit. Besides we would have to explain the origin of *añ* in *avanñ*. We should be moving in a circle if we say that the masculine singular suffix *añ* came from *āñ* which came from *avanñ*, and *avanñ* was formed from *a* and *añ*. *Āñ* itself may be changed to *ōñ* by making *ā* more a close vowel, in the same way as the final *a* in Sanskrit is pronounced like *o* by Bengalis.

Similarly it may be said with respect to the feminine singular suffix *!*.

Dr. Caldwell says 'that every Dravidian noun is naturally neuter, or destitute of gender, and it becomes masculine or feminine solely in virtue of the addition of a masculine or feminine suffix'.<sup>4</sup>

In our present state of knowledge, it may not be possible to determine conclusively whether inflected forms in Tamil with gender and number suffixes arose from certain proethnic Dravidian vocables in accordance with what Jespersen<sup>5</sup> calls the theory of secretion through a process of disentanglement of final elements and their adaptation as suffixes; or whether, as Dr. Caldwell seems to be inclined to believe, such forms in Tamil arose from pro-ethnic Dravidian neuters through the composi-

1. C. D. G. 225.

2. *Nañkā ṅ-ṅṅē ṅ-āññu v-ṅṅi-col.* (Tol. Col. 5.)

3. J. O. R. Vol. i, p. 4.

4. C. D. G. 229.

5. J. L. P. 383.

tion of certain pronominal elements denoting gender and number. However, a careful examination of the oldest available Tamil grammar, *viz.*, Tolkāppiyam emboldens me to say that so far as Tamil, in its earliest period, is concerned, the gender in nouns must have been determined mainly by their *meanings* and not by their *suffixes*. It would be of advantage to bear in mind in this connection that Tolkāppiyāṅār plainly says that the suffixes *ḡ*, *ḷ*, *r*, etc. need not necessarily be used after *nouns* to indicate gender and number, though they must be invariably used after *verbs*.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Caldwell says that the epicene pluralising particles in Tamil are *ar*, *ār*, *ōr*; *ir*, *īr*<sup>2</sup>; *mar*, *mār*<sup>3</sup> and *var*<sup>4</sup>.

Since *ar*, *ār*, and *ōr* are used in connection with third person plurals and *ir* and *īr* in connection with second person plurals, it is evident that 'r' alone denotes the epicene plural as is mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṅār.

As regards 'var' he says that it is the abbreviated form of *avar*, on the basis of its presence in the word *nālvār*. But it seems to me that, since *v* is only an intervocalic element in *oruvar*, *iruvar*, *mūvar*, *aivar*, *aṟuvar*, it may be said that *v* in *nālvār* has crept in through analogy with the above forms; or it may have been the corrupted form of *mār*, since *m* can change to *v* very easily.

*What is the origin of mar?* It is worth investigating whether it is made up of the two pluralising particles *m* and *r* with a connecting vowel *a*. *M* is found to be the pluralising particle in the first personal pronoun *nām*, *yām* and in the oblique case base *em* and in the verbal terminations *em*, *ēm*, *kum*, *ḡum*, *lum* and *ḡum* of the first person plural. I am glad to see that M.J. Vinson

1. *Irutiṅai maruṅki ḡ-aim-pā l-aṟiyu*  
*Īṟṟiyiy ḡ-icaikkum paṟiyō r-eḷuttun*  
*Toṟṟan tāṁō viṅai-y-oṟu varum-ā.* (Tol. Col. 10.)
2. C. D. G. 239.
3. Ibid. 240.
4. Ibid. 241.

already suggested this in 1911 in his article *La Pluriel Primitif em-M.* (J.A. Dixieme Serie Tome 17).

Again, Dr. Caldwell says that the verbal terminations *mar*, *mār* and *maṅār* are not identical with the epicene pluralising articles *mar* and *mār*, since in verbs *m* denotes the future tense as *b* or *v* and hence it may have been the modification of *b* or *v*. But this cannot be taken as absolutely true since *Tolkāppiyāṅār* has not definitely stated the tense signs, and makes us infer that the tense was determined mostly by context. This will be dealt with in detail in the section on verbs.

3.21332. *DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS*:—Pronouns may be divided into (1) Personal Pronouns (2) Demonstrative Pronouns (2) Reflexive Pronouns (4) Interrogative Pronouns (5) Relative Pronouns (6) Pronouns derived from numerals and (7) Indefinite Pronouns.

3.213321. *PERSONAL PRONOUNS*:—Personal pronouns consist of pronouns of the first person and the second person. There is no personal pronoun in Tamil for the third person since the demonstrative pronoun itself serves its purpose. The declension of the first and second personal pronouns in the ancient, medieval and modern periods is as follows:—

3.2133211. *FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN (ANCIENT PERIOD)*.

Case:	Singular:	Plural:	
1st case	<i>yāṅ</i>	<i>yām</i>	<i>nām</i>
2nd case	<i>eṅṅai</i>	<i>emmai</i>	<i>nammai</i>
3rd case	<i>eṅṅāṅ</i> } <i>eṅṅoṅū</i> }	{ <i>emmāṅ</i> <i>emmoṅū</i> }	{ <i>nammāṅ</i> <i>nammoṅū</i> }
4th case	<i>eṅakkū</i>	<i>emakkū</i>	<i>namakkū</i>
5th case	<i>eṅṅiṅ</i>	<i>emmiṅ</i>	<i>nammiṅ</i>
6th case	<i>eṅatū</i> } <i>eṅakkū</i> }	{ <i>ematū</i> <i>emakkū</i> }	{ <i>namatū</i> <i>namakkū</i> }
7th case	<i>eṅkaṅ</i>	<i>eṅkaṅ</i>	<i>naṅkaṅ</i>

(MEDIEVAL AND MODERN PERIODS)

	Singular :	Plural :
1st case	<i>yāṅ</i> <i>nāṅ</i>	<i>yām, yāṅkaḷ; nām, nāṅkaḷ</i>
2nd case	<i>eṅṅai</i>	<i>emmai, eṅkaḷai; nammai</i>

Singular :	Plural :
3rd case <i>eṅṅāḷ, eṅṅōṭū, eṅṅōṭū</i>	<i>emmiāl, eṅkaḷāl; nammiāl</i> } <i>emmiōṭū, eṅkaḷōṭū; nammiōṭū</i> } <i>emmoṭū, eṅkaḷōṭū; nammoṭū</i> }
4th case <i>eṅakkū (nēkkū colloq.)</i>	<i>emakkū, eṅkaḷakkū; namakkū</i>
5th case <i>eṅṅiṅ</i>	<i>emmiṅ, eṅkaḷiṅ; nammiṅ</i>
6th case <i>eṅatū</i> (if it is followed by a singular noun) <i>eṅa</i> (if it is followed by a plural noun)	<i>ematū, eṅkaḷatū; namatū</i> (if it is followed by a singular noun) <i>ema eṅkaḷa; nama</i> (if it is follow- ed by a plural noun)
7th case <i>eṅkaṅ, eṅṅiḷ, etc.</i>	<i>eṅkaṅ, eṅkaḷiṅkaṅ, naṅkaṅ, etc.</i>

(The *collurupū* like *ṣoruṭṭū*, etc. mentioned by the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* and the later grammarians are also added in all periods.)

**YĀN NĀN:** As regards the first person singular nominative *Tolkāppiyaṅār* has mentioned only *yāy*.<sup>1</sup> The authors of *Vīracōḷiyam* and *Naṅṅūḷ* and the later grammarians have mentioned *nāy* also. They have done so since *nāy* began to be used in literature before the time of the author of *Vīracōḷiyam*. The following quotations may serve as examples for the same. *Nāy ceṅṅu nāṭi* (I having approached) (P. T. 128.1.); *nāy ḍr tuṅai kāṅṅēy* (I do not find any help-mate) (T. V. 25.10.). The form *nāy* may have been formed through analogy with *nām*, the nominative case plural.

**Eṅṅōṭū:** As regards *eṅṅōṭū*, the third case singular, it is evident that it has been formed from *eṅṅōṭū* by the lengthening of *o* to *ō*.

**Eṅa:** As regards *a* in *eṅa* as a sixth case-suffix, vide 3.213232. *supra*.

**Yām, yāṅkaḷ; nām, nāṅkaḷ:** *Tolkāppiyaṅār* has mentioned only *yām* and *nām*.<sup>2</sup> The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* has mentioned

1. *Tāy-vā y-eṅṅu m-āyi r-iṅṅutiyum*  
*Mēy muṣ peyaroṭum vēṅṅupū ṭilavē.* (Tol. E. 193.)
2. *Tā-nā m-ēṅṅu makara v-iṅṅutiyum*  
*Yām-e y-iṅṅutiyu m-atayḍ r-aṅṅa*  
*Ā-ey y-āḷkum yām-e y-iṅṅutī*  
*Yā-vayiy yākara-mey keṭutal vēṅṅum*  
*Ēyāi y-iṅṅu neṅṅ-mutal kaṅṅukum.*

in V. V. 91 that *nām* is used as honorific singular and *nāñkaḷ* as plural. Its commentator adds *yām* to the former and *yāñkaḷ* to the latter. Evidently *yāñkaḷ* and *nāñkaḷ* are cases of double plurals. It is worth noting that *kaḷ* can be used only after *m* the pluralising particle, unlike some *uyartiṇai* nouns like *vacukkaḷ*, *nōṇṇipikaḷ* where *kaḷ* is directly added to the singular form of the noun. Such forms are not sanctioned by Tolkāppiyaṅār. They are found, it seems, for the first time in Cilappatikāram. (e.g. *yāñkaḷum*—Cilap. 298.161.) Though Nannūlar mentions only *yām*, *nām* in Na. 287, yet the forms *yāñkaḷ* and *nāñkaḷ* are acceptable to him under the general sūtra No. 278. The later grammarians have followed the authors of Vīracōḷiyam and Nannūl. The reason why the author of Vīracōḷiyam says so is that examples where *nām* is used as honorific singular, and *nāñkaḷ* and *yāñkaḷ* as plurals were found in plenty in the literature written before his time. The necessity for the forms *yāñkaḷ*, *nāñkaḷ* may have arisen from the desire of the speakers to distinguish the plural from the honorific singular. The following quotations may serve as examples:—

*Yām piṇṇitta neṇunal yāṇai* (Elephant caught by me yesterday) (P.N. 162.5.) Here *yām* is honorific singular.

*Nām toḷutum eḷu neñcamē* (I worship; oh! mind rise) (P.T. 120.1.) Here *nām* is honorific singular.

*Nāñkaḷ uyyēmē* (We will not live.) (P.T. 92.1.)

*Yāñkaḷum niṇeṇṇippararkutum* (We shall also go through the long path.) (Cilap. 469.4.)

*Eñkaḷai*, *eñkaḷāl*, etc. These are double plurals formed from the base *em*, but not from the other base *nam*.

*Ema*, *eñkaḷa*; *nama*: The reason for the appearance of these forms is the same as that for *eṇa*.

The following quotations may serve for the forms of double plurals mentioned above.

*Nañkaḷ perumōṅgai* (our lord) (T.V. 7.67).

*Eñkaḷ perumāṅṅ* (our lord) (T.V. 7.75).

1. See f. n. 37 *infra*. (ibid. 189.)

*Eṅkaḷ māl iṟaiyaṅ* (our lord Viṣṇu) (P.T. 112.2).

*Eṅkaḷukku aruḷ ceykiṅṟa iṅṅai* (God who shows grace to us) (P.T. 151.3).

It may be noted that words having the sixth case-suffix omitted are much larger in number than those with them.

*N* in *yāṅ*, *eṅṅai*, *eṅṅoṭṭi*, etc. This may have been the particle denoting the masculine singular. Originally, these words may have been used by the male member of a family and they may have been used even by the female member. But Dr. Caldwell does not agree with this view.<sup>1</sup>

He says "I think it unsafe, however, to conclude from this or from any of the facts mentioned, that the initial *n* of *nāṅ* is of modern origin..... *Nāṅ* is represented as we have seen, as alternating with *yāṅ* in the most authoritative grammar of the classical Tamil."<sup>2</sup> He has made this statement only on the strength of *Naṅṅūl*. He would not have made this statement had he seen that *Tolkāppiyaṅār* has not made mention of *nāṅ*.

Dr. Caldwell says "In all the Dravidian dialects with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, of which one denotes, not only the party of the speaker, but also the party addressed, and may be called the *plural inclusive*; the other excludes the party addressed and denotes only the party of the speaker and may be called *plural exclusive*. The colloquial Tamil forms the plural exclusive from *nām*, the ordinary regular plural by addition of *gaḷ*, which is properly a neuter sign of plurality."<sup>3</sup> This is not wholly true even so far as the modern colloquial Tamil is concerned, since *nām* may also denote third persons standing by the side of the speaker. Since at the time of *Tolkāppiyaṅār*, there were not two forms, but only one form, there was absolutely no room for the classification as the plural exclusive and the plural inclusive. The author of *Viracōḷiyam* says that *nām* was used as honorific singu-

1. C. D. G. 370.

2. Ibid. 367.

3. Ibid. 414 and 415.



lar and *nāikaḷ* as plural.<sup>1</sup> But the author of *Naṅṅūl* mentions in connection with the personal terminations at the end of verbs that *am* and *ām* are used in the first person plural to include the person spoken to, and *em*, *ēm* and *ōm* to exclude the person spoken to.<sup>2</sup>

*Nēkkū*: The initial vowel *e* in *eṇakkū* is dropped and consequently *a* following *ṇ* is changed to *e* and then lengthened to *ē* by compensation. Since *ṇ* cannot be initial, it is changed to *n*. The existence of two different bases *eṇ* and *nam* in the oblique cases, respectively of the singular and plural in Tamil is similar to that of the bases *mat* and *asmat* of the 1st person singular and plural in Sanskrit. Besides, the element *m* is found in the plural bases of both.

*Collective first personal pronoun*: There is a collective first personal pronoun *elām* mentioned by *Naṅṅūlār* (Na. 287). This remains the same in all cases, and is preceded by the oblique forms of *yām* and *nām* as *enmai-y-elām*, *nammai-y-elām*, *eṅkaḷai-y-elām*, etc. Another collective personal pronoun is *ellām* which is said to be used for all personal pronouns. (Tol. E. 190 & 191, and Na. 285.) This *ellām* was declined at the time of *Tolkāppiyāṇār* as *ellānammaiyum*, *ellānammāṇum*, etc., if it referred to first or second personal pronoun or *uyartiṇai* demonstrative pronoun. It seems to me that, since the forms *ellīrum* and *ellārum* and their oblique forms were exclusively used in the second, and the third, person respectively, *ellānammaiyum* began to be used only to denote the first person at a later time. (Na. 245. K.) But at the present day it is not thus

1. *Uṇṇum-eṇṇum-taṇṇum yāvum-avvum-ivvu m-avvum-avvum*  
*Eṇṇum-ivarriṇ-muṇ ṇī-nāṇ-ṇāṇ-cu-v-varil yā-mutala*  
*Vaṇṇum-vallun-tuvvum vaiyuṅ-ciraṇṇi-ṇīr nāmoṭu-tām*  
*Priṇṇil-aintum-var palariṇ-kaḷḷōṭu-var kaḷ-ḷ-eṇṇavē.* (V. V. 9.)
2. *Am-ām eṇṇaṇa muṇṇilai y-āraiyyum*  
*Em-ēm ōm-ivvai paṇarkkai y-āraiyyum*  
*Um-ūr ka-ḷa-ṇa iru-ṇā l-āraiyyum*  
*Taṇ-ṇ-ōṭū paṇukkun taṇmai-ṇ paṇmai.* (Na. 333.)

declined, the form *ellāni* itself being used after the case forms *nammai*, *nammāl*, etc. (e. g. *nammai-y-ellām*, *nammāl-ellām*, etc.) Sanskrit does not have a similar collective first personal pronoun.

3.2133212. *Second Personal Pronoun (Ancient Period).*

Case:	Singular:	Plural.
1st case	<i>nī<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>nīyir<sup>2</sup></i>
2nd case	<i>niṅṅai</i>	<i>nummai</i>
3rd case	<i>niṅṅoṭū, niṅṅāṅ</i>	<i>nummoṭū, nummāṅ</i>
4th case	<i>niṅakkū</i>	<i>numakkū</i>
5th case	<i>niṅṅiṅ</i>	<i>nummiṅ</i>
6th case	<i>niṅatū, niṅakkū</i>	<i>numatū, numakkū</i>
7th case	<i>niṅkaṅ</i>	<i>numkaṅ</i>

(Medieval and Modern Periods).

Case:	Singular:	Plural:
1st case <i>nī</i>		<sup>3</sup> <i>nīyir, nīvir, nīr; nīyirkaḷ, nīvirkaḷ, nīrkaḷ, nīm, nīṅkaḷ.</i>
2nd case	<i>niṅṅai, nuṅṅai, uṅṅai</i>	<i>nummai, ummai, uṅkaḷai.</i>
3rd case	<i>niṅṅāl, nuṅṅāl, uṅṅāl</i>	<i>nummāl ummāl, uṅkaḷāl.</i>
	<i>niṅṅoṭū, nuṅṅoṭū, uṅ- ṅoṭū.</i>	<i>nummoṭū, ummoṭū, uṅkaḷoṭū.</i>
	<i>niṅṅōṭū, nuṅṅōṭū, uṅ- ṅōṭū</i>	<i>nummōṭū, ummōṭū, uṅkaḷōṭū.</i>
4th case	<i>niṅakkū, nuṅakkū, uṅ- akkū</i>	<i>numakkū umakkū, uṅkaḷukki.</i>
	( <i>nōkkū-Colloq.</i> )	

1. *Nī-y-e ṅ-oru-peyar neṭumutal kuṅukum*  
*Ā-vayi ṅ-akara m-orṅā kummē.* (Tol. E. 180.)  
*Avayṅuḷ*  
*Nī-y-eṅ kiḷavi y-orumai-k k-urittē.* (Tol. Col. 189.)
2. *Nīyir nī-y-eṅ varūṅ kiḷavi*  
*Pāṅeri pilavē y-uṅṅ-mōli-p poruḷa.* (ibid. 188.)  
*Ēṅai-k kiḷavi paṅmai-k k-urittē.* (ibid. 190.)
3. *Tāṅmai pāṅ-nāṅ yām.nām muṅṅilai*  
*Ellir nīyir nīvir nīr nī*  
*Allaṅa paṅarkkai ellā m-eṅal potu.* (Na. 285.)



Case:	Singular:	Plural.
5th case	<i>nīṅṅiṅ, nuṅṅiṅ, uyṅṅiṅ</i>	<i>nummiṅ, ummiṅ, uṅkaḷiṅ.</i>
6th case	<i>nīyatū, nuyatū, uyatū</i> <i>nīna, nuṅa, uṅa</i>	<i>numatū, umatū, uṅkaḷatū.</i> <i>numa, uma.</i>
7th case	<i>uṅkaṅ, nuṅkaṅ, uykaṅ,</i> etc.	<i>nuṅkaṅ, uṅkaṅ, uṅkaḷiṅkaṅ,</i> etc.

*Nīyir*: The nominative form *nīyir* is said to have been derived from the oblique case form *num* by Tolkāppiyaṅār<sup>1</sup> and hence it may be said that it was later than the oblique case form *num*. It also seems to me that it may have been derived from *nī* by the addition of *ir* the pluralising particle of the second person.

*NĪR* and *NĪRKAL* are mentioned by the author of *Vīra-cōliyam*. *Nīr* is only the contracted form of *nīyir* or *nīvir*, and *nīrkaḷ* is evidently double plural. Its commentator mentions that, sometimes, *nīyirkaḷ* and *nīvirkaḷ* also are used.<sup>2</sup>

*NĪM* is found in *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* and it is stated in its commentary that it is a *ṭicai-c-col*. It may have been borrowed from Canarese or may have been formed from *nī* through analogy with *nām, tām*, etc. This form is not found in any work written before *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*.

*NĪYIR, NĪVIR* and *NĪR* are mentioned by the author of *Naṅṅūl*. *Nīvir* may have been formed by the substitution of *v* for *y* between *ī* and *i* in *nī + ir* through analogy with *ivviṭam (i-v-v-iṭam)*, etc. Since it is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṅār and it is not found in the earlier Sangam works, it may have been of later origin.

*NĪNKAL* is a double plural formed from the plural *nīm*. This form is not found in works written before *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. It is the only form that is now very largely used not only as honorific singular like *nīr* but also as plural.

Paṅṅaiyil *nīrkaḷ, uṅkaḷ*...eṅavum varum; *nīrkaḷ eṅpatū nīyirkaḷ nīvirkaḷ* eṅa ātēcāṁ ātalum uṅṅū. (V. V. 9. Comm.)

1. *Num-m-iṅ ṅiri-peyar viṅṅāviṅ peyar-eṅṅū*  
*A-m-muṅai y-iraṅṅu m-avaṅṅiyal piyalum.* (Tol. Col. 143.)  
*Num-m-e ṅ-iṅṅuti y-iyarṅkai yāḷum.* (Tol. E. 188.)
2. V. V. 9. comm. cf. f. n. under 4.1 *supra*.

The following quotations may serve as examples for the forms mentioned above :—

- Nīyō peruma* (you are great). (P. N. 5.3.)  
*Ninnai y-innāturra v-araṇil kūṟṟē* (the god of death who has unmeritoriously taken away your life). (P.N. 255.3.)  
*Ninnoṭu puraiya* (to fight with you). (Pari. 11.67.)  
*Ninaku iṟumṇu taṇmai* (your wonderful quality). (Pari. 23.3.)  
*Ninṇiṇ ciṟanta niṇ tāḷiṇai* (your feet which are superior to you). (Pari. 29.62.)  
*Nīyiru m-irunilaṅ kaṭanta* (even you having crossed the wide tract). (Pattu. 131.28.)  
*Varutu nīyirum* (you too better come). (Pattu. 100.143.)  
*Nīr...tolumiṇē* (you better worship). (T. 19.1.)  
*Nīr tuḷaṅkal vēṇṇā* (you will not desire). (C. C. 745.)  
*Aṭiyēṇ vantaṭaivaṇimē* (I, the slave, will resort to you). (C. C. 563.)  
*Nāṅkaḷ nōkkumiṇ* (you better see). (C. C. 1045.)  
*Nīyir aivīrum* (you five). (Kampar. A. 725.67.)  
*Uṅkaḷ kulattutittōrkaṭkellām* (to all who are born in your family). (Kampar. K. 247.78.)

What is the origin of the base 'UN' in the singular found in the medieval and modern periods? It seems to me that it was evolved out of the base *nīy* of the ancient period in the following way :—First of all we see the form *nuṇ* used in the following sentences :—

- Nuṇa cīraṭi nōva* (to make your little feet suffer). (C. C. 1517.)  
*Nuṇpati-p-peyarkkum* (going to your residence). (P. K. i, 32.93.)

of *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* and *Peruṅkatai*, respectively, works written between the 9th and 10th cent. A. D. *Nuṇ* may have been formed from *nīy* by changing *i* to *u* through analogy with the vowel *u* found in the plural base *num*. Then in colloquations like *nuṅkō-nuṇṇai*, . . . (M. M. 283.100) which admit of being split up in two ways—*nuṅkōṇ + nuṇṇai* and *nuṅkōṇ +*

*uṅṅai*, the latter alternative may have been adopted, and thus the form *uṅ* may have come into being. Now that the first appearance of *uṅ* is accounted for, it would scarcely be difficult to imagine how such a form may easily have become generalised. The following illustrations would make clear how such wrong splittings not infrequently serve as fruitful sources of new doublets in phrases involving sandhi between final *ṅ* and initial *u*.

For instance in *nōuṅṅu nūltu nāṅuntu kaṅṅā* (T. V. 1037.), the expression *nāṅuntu* is shown by Dr. Pope to be capable of being split in two ways as *nāṅ + nuntu* and *nāṅ + untu* though the earlier form *nuntu* appears in the sentence *nuntum paṅtaṅṅerumai* (T. V. 6.187). From this it will be seen how the doublet *untu* arose beside the earlier *nuntu*. Similarly in '*paṅtaṅṅarāṅ paṅintāṅṅuntai*' found in the *Vipīṅṅaṅṅ-aṅṅaikkala-p-paṅalam* of the *Yutta-kāṅṅam* in *Kamparāṅṅaṅṅam*, the expression *paṅintāṅṅuntai* was wrongly split into *paṅintāṅṅ* and *untai* and the doublet *untai* arose beside the earlier *nuntai* recognised by *Tolkāṅṅiṅṅār*. (Cf. Tol. E. 67.)

Forms with the base *uṅ* are not at all found in the early works of Sangam period like *Puṅṅāṅṅūṅṅu*, *Akaṅṅāṅṅūṅṅu* etc. They begin to appear in very few instances in *Maṅṅimēkalai* and are freely used in *Tēvāram*, *Tiruvācakam*, *Nālāyirappirapantam* and other works written between the 5th and 9th centuries and they have almost ousted the old forms with the base *niṅ* in the modern period. The following may serve as examples for the same.

- Niṅ paṅuntūṅṅam* (your great suffering). (M.M. 172.43.)  
*Orutaṅṅi niṅṅāy uṅṅiram aṅṅintēṅṅ* (you stood alone and  
 I understood your power). (M. M. 50.96.)  
*Uṅṅaṅṅiyēṅṅ uṅṅai niṅṅaintāl* (if I, your servant think of  
 you). (T. 31.2.) (*uṅṅai* for *uṅṅai*).  
*Uṅṅai yāṅṅ paṅinta nāl* (the day when I gave birth to  
 you). (C. C. 2100.)  
*Uṅṅatu aṅṅiyē caraṅṅamē* (your feet are my refuge). (P. T.  
 150.9.)  
*Uṅṅmēl āṅṅaram paṅritū* (regard for you is great). (P. T.  
 46.9.)

*Uṅ maṅattāl* (with your mind). (P. T. 44.1.)

*Uṅ aṭiyār-tāl paṇivōm* (we will worship the feet of your devotees). (T. V. 7.36.)

*Uṅakkē aṭaikkalam* (we are under you). (T. V. 7.73.)

*Uṅṅai-p-pirāṅ-āka* (thinking you a stranger). (T. V. 7.35.)

Similarly the base *num* may have been replaced by *um*. Then the particle *kaḷ* may have been added to the base *um* so that we have two bases *um* and *uṅkaḷ*. In modern times, the base *um* is used in connection with honorific singular, and *uṅkaḷ* with plural. The following may serve as examples for the same :—

*Umakku inta nāṭṭē vantu tonṭarāṅa nāṅkaḷ* (we who have come to this country and become your devotees). (P. T. 93.7.)

*Umakkē āḷāy* (being your men). (P. T. 92.4.)

*Uṅkaḷ kulattutittōrkkellām* (to all who have been born in your family). (Kampar. K. 247.78.)

**NŌKKŪ** : The first syllable in *uṅakku* is dropped on the principle of economy of effort and *a* is made the guttaro-labial vowel *o* by the influence of the labial *u*, before it is dropped.

The existence of two different bases *niṅ* and *num* in the ancient period for the oblique cases respectively of the second person singular and second person plural in Tamil is similar to that of the base *tvat* and *yuṣmat* in the singular and plural of the second person in Sanskrit. Also the elements *u* and *m* are found in the plural bases of both.

**COLLECTIVE SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN** : Tolkāp-piyaṅār mentions that *ellīrum* is second person and should be declined as *ellīr-nummaiyum*, *ellīr-nummoṣum*, etc. (Tol.E. 192). Naṅṅūlār mentions *ellīr* in the nominative case (Na. 287) and *ellīrnummaiyum*, etc. in the oblique cases (Na. 246). Besides *ellām* may be used along with the oblique cases of the second person. But at present, the use of the oblique case forms of *ellīrum* have died out and those of *ellārum*, the demonstrative form in *uyartiṅai* and its poetical form *ellōrum* are used instead.

e.g. *uñkaḥ ellāraiyum vara-c-coṇṇāḥ* or *uñkaḥ ellōraiyum vara-c-coṇṇāḥ* (she asked all of you to come). Sanskrit does not possess a similar collective second personal pronoun.

3.213322. *DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS* are of three kinds :—(1) Remote Demonstrative Pronoun (2) Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun and (3) Intermediate Demonstrative Pronoun.

3.2133221. *REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN* assumes in the ancient period the following forms in the nominative case—*avaṅ* in masculine singular, *avaḥ* in feminine singular, *avar* in epicene plural, *atu* or *astū* in neuter singular and *avai* and *av* in neuter plural. (e.g.) *avvum piṇavam* (they and others) (Pari. 26.23). But in medieval and modern periods there are two forms *avar* and *avarkaḥ* in epicene plural and two forms *avai* and *avaikaḥ* in neuter plural. The oblique cases are formed by adding case-suffixes to the nominative forms without any change.

3.2133222. Similarly the forms of the *PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN* in the nominative case are *ivaṅ*, *ivaḥ*, *ivar* and *ivarkaḥ*, *itu* or *istū* and *ivai*, *iv* and *ivaikaḥ*. (e.g.) *ivvum ivvum* (these and those) (Pari. 26.23). The oblique cases too are formed in the same manner as in the Remote Demonstrative Pronoun.

3.2133223. Similarly the forms of the *INTERMEDIATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN* in the nominative case are *uvaṅ*, *uvaḥ*, *uvar*, *utu* or *ustū*, *uvai* and *uv*. These forms are gradually going out of use.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar<sup>1</sup> says, 'Old Tamil usage, however, clearly indicates that, in its inception, *u* was a far demonstrative and it is used as such in the Oldest Tamil works.' He derives *u* from *ava* through the intermediate stages *ō* and *ū*. Then he says that 'the demonstrative element *u* is of comparatively late origin.' The examples he quotes where *u*, according to him, is far demonstrative are from works which are later than Tolkāppiyam.

1. "Āryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronoun" read in the Third All India Oriental Conference, Madras, p. 7.

In Tolkāppiyam, *uvaṅ*, *uvaḷ*, *utu* and *uvai* are mentioned along with *avaṅ*, *avaḷ*, *atu* and *avai*. If both the demonstrative elements *a* and *u* had had the same function at the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār, one of them would have died out even at his time. *U* may have been used in his time to denote objects at a distance and *a* to denote objects at remote distance.

*Avar* and *ivar* were used as honorific singular and *avarkaḷ* and *ivarkaḷ* as plurals at the time of the author of Vīracōḷiyam (V. V. 9). But now *avar*, *avarkaḷ*, *ivar* and *ivarkaḷ* are all used both as honorific singular and plural. The *a* in Tamil *avaṅ*, *avaḷ*, etc., and *i* in *ivaṅ*, *ivaḷ*, etc. respectively have their parallels in Sanskrit, in *a* of *tat* and *i* of *idam*.

There was a collective third person plural pronoun which had the form of *ellārum* in the nominative case and *ellārtammaiyum*, *ellārtammoṭum*, etc. in the oblique cases. The insertion of *am* is almost extinct in modern speech. Similarly, *ellām* in the nominative case and *ellānammaiyum*, *ellānammoṭum*, etc. and *ellāvarṟaiyum* and *ellāvarṟoṭum*, etc. in the oblique cases were used along with pronouns of the epicene plural and neuter plural respectively. (Tol. E. 190 and 191.) Even in ancient period the forms *ellāraiyum* and *ellāroṭum*, etc. were used in place of *ellānammaiyum*, *ellānammoṭum*, etc. e.g. *kaṭavuḷar ellārkkum* (to all gods). (Ka. T. ii, 559.36.) In the later periods if they are used along with the nouns in oblique cases which they qualify, the nominative form itself is used. e.g. *uyirkkelām* (to all living beings). (Kampar. B. 3312.)

3.213323. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS are respectively *tāṅ* and *tām* in the nominative singular and plural. They are shortened to *taṅ* and *tam* in the oblique cases before they take case-suffixes. *Tām* also takes *kaḷ* in the modern period as other pronouns. The form *tāṅkaḷ* is now used as an honorific second person singular also, when it is followed by a verb of the second person plural.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar says that "*taṅ* was in its inception merely a pronoun of the third person, and that a reflexive meaning has come to be superimposed so as to overshadow



its original sense to such an extent that it has now come to be called the Reflexive Pronoun"<sup>1</sup> From the examples he has quoted it seems to me that the reverse may have been the case; for since there were the demonstrative pronouns *avaṅ*, *ava*, *atu*, etc., there would be no need for another kind of pronoun of the third person in *tāṅ*. Tolkāppiyaṅār states that *tāṅ* and *tām* are respectively used in the singular and plural. He has not mentioned that they should be used only in the third person; besides, from the context of the sūtras dealing with *tāṅ* and *tām*, it is clear that he thinks that they could be used along with the pronouns of all persons and genders. Since the examples quoted by R. Swaminatha Aiyar are from works later than Tolkāppiyam, it seems to me that *tāṅ* and *tām* were originally reflexive in origin and their use has been so extended that they are used even as demonstrative pronouns.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar traces *tāṅ* to R. V. *tanu* and *tām* to *tman*<sup>2</sup> but in the present state of my knowledge, I cannot agree with him.

3.213324. *INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN*: The forms of Interrogative Pronouns that are found in Tolkāppiyam are *yāvay*, *yāva*, *yāvar*, *yāar*, *yār*, *yāvatu*, *yā*, *yāvai*, and *evaṅ*. Tolkāppiyaṅār says that *yāar* can be used as the logical predicate of masculine singular noun, feminine singular noun and epicene plural nouns,<sup>3</sup> and that *evaṅ* may be used along with neuter singular and neuter plural<sup>4</sup> and also when the gender of the object that is questioned is not clear.<sup>5</sup> The oblique forms too at the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār had the base *yā*. In the medieval

1. *Ibid.* p. 45.

2. *Ibid.* p. 47.

3. *Yāa r-eṅṅum viṅṅaviṅ kiḷavi*

*A-t-tiṅai maruṅkiṅ mu-p-pārku m-urittē.*

(Tol. Col. 219.)

4. *A-t-tiṅai maruṅki ṅ-iru-pār kiḷavikkum*

*Okku m-eṅṅa v-evaṅ-eṅ viṅṅavē.* (ibid. 219.)

5. *Yātu-eva ṅ-eṅṅu m-āyiru kiḷaviyum*

*Ariyā-p poruḷ-vayir ceṅiya-t tōṅṅum.* (ibid. 31.)



period *evaikaḷ* and *evarkaḷ* also were used. In the modern period the forms, *evaṅ*, *evaḷ*, *evar*, *etu* and *evai*, *evaṅnai*, *evaḷai*, *evarai*, *etai* or *etaṅnai*, *evayrai* have almost taken the place of *yāvaṅ*, *yāvaḷ*, *yāvar*, *yātū*, *yāvai*, *yāvaṅnai*, *yāvaḷai*, *yāvarai*, *yātai* or *yātaṅnai*, *yāvayrai*, etc. Hence the original interrogative root was *yā*. But Tolkāppiyaṅār himself mentions an interrogative form *evaṅ* and takes *ē* as one interrogative root and makes use of such words as *e-p-poruḷ*, *e-p-peyar*, etc. Hence it seems to me that, before the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār, *yā* may have been the base of the forms in the nominative case e.g. *yāvarum piṅgarum*—(Pari. 55.8.) and *e* the base of forms in the oblique cases and that, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār, the base *yā* was generalised throughout e.g. *yāvarkkum cāyal niṅatū*—(Pari. 9.55.) and at the later periods *e* began to be generalised throughout e.g. *evaṅum itai-c-ceyvāṅ* (any one can do this), *evarkkum itu eḷitū*, (this is easy for any one to do) etc.—(Colloq.)

Dr. Caldwell thinks that *yā* was the original form and that *ē* must have been corrupted from it. But since the root *e* is found in the form *evaṅ* mentioned by him and *ē* is used as syntactic interrogative from the earliest times, it is also probable that *e* or *ē* may have been the original and *yā* may have been formed from it through analogy with *yāṅ*, which may have been formed from the oblique base *eṅ*.

In addition to these interrogative pronouns, there are three interrogative roots, *ā*, *ē* and *ō* which serve as syntactic interrogatives and are added at the end of nouns or verbs. e.g. *Avayā vantāṅ ?* (did he come). *Avay vantāṅā ?* (did he come). *Avayē vantāṅ ?* (did he come). *Avayō vantāṅ ?* (did he come). *Avay vantāṅō ?* (did he come). Some of these as *ā* and *ō* denote mere question and the third *ē* denotes doubt etc.

3.213325. **RELATIVE PRONOUNS**: Tolkāppiyaṅār and other grammarians have not stated anything about relative pronouns. The purpose of the relative pronouns is served by the participles e.g.

*Uṅṅi-koṭuttōr uyir-koṭuttōrē* (food-givers are life givers).  
(P.N. 18.19.)

*Ceyvinai-k-k-ctirnta tevvar* (enemies who were against the actions done). (P.N. 6.11.)

*Nirayan kolḥavarotū* (with those who go to hell). (P.N. 5.6.)

*Cērvāyai-k-kaṇṭāl* (if you see him who will mix with you). (T. 25.2.)

But in Maṇimēkalai and some of the later works the interrogative pronouns began to be used in certain instances as relative pronouns. This, it seems to me, is due to the adaptation of Sanskrit sentence form in Tamil. For instance, sentences like *'yātonṇu yātonṇu mūrttam atu aṇittam'* (whichever is *mūrta* is *anīya*) are found in plenty in Maṇimēkalai. This sentence is exactly the translation of the Sanskrit sentence *'yat yat mūrtam, tat tat anīyam'*. The same idea may be expressed in Tamil as *'mūrttam āyatu aṇittam'*.

R. Swaminatha Aiyar says that "the Sanskrit masculine *yāvān* appears to have been one of the earliest relative interrogative forms adopted in Tamil and other Dravidian languages". Two points are to be noted here :—(1) *Yāvān* is only a relative pronoun in Sanskrit and is never an interrogative, and it exists from a very ancient period; while the relative pronoun in Tamil is a recent introduction and *yāvay* in Tamil was originally an interrogative pronoun; (2) Besides, if *yāvay* was derived from *yāvān*, why should the second *a* be shortened in Tamil? Again he says, "the interrogative *e* which appears initially in composition as in Tamil *e-p-peyar* . . . has apparently arisen from the imitation of such Sanskrit compounds and combinations as *yat-kāma* . . . *yātkāraṇa*, etc. This *e* is another of the earliest relative interrogative forms adopted in the Dravidian languages. It is possible that the base *yad* has also given rise to the Dravidian pronouns, *edu*, *edi*." This appears to me to be an extreme view. The form *etu* in Tamil is only of later origin. The corresponding form is *yāvati* in Tolkāppiyam. The *e* of *e-k-kālam* is formed in the same way as *a-k-kālam*, *i-k-kālam*, since, as Dr. Caldwell says, 'the Demonstrative and Interrogative bases are built up on those bases in precisely the same manner and obey one and the same law.'

3.213326. *PRONOUNS DERIVED FROM NUMERALS*: They are of two kinds, viz., *oruvaṅ*, *oruvar*, *iruvar*, *mūvar*, etc. which belong to *uyartiṇai* and *oṅṟū*, *iraṅṟū*, *mūṅṟū*, etc., which belong to *aṅṟiṇai*. The oblique cases of the former set of words are formed by adding the case-suffixes directly to them. In the modern period the forms *iruvarkaḷaiyum*, *iruvarkaḷḍlum*, etc. which are formed by adding the suffix *kaḷ* to *iruvar*, *mūvar*, etc., before adding the case-suffixes are also in use. The oblique cases of the latter set of words are generally formed by adding the flexional increment *aṅ* between them and the case-suffixes. e.g. *oṅṟaṅaiyum*, *iraṅṟaṅaiyum*, etc. The form *oruvar* was used at the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār when the speaker was not sure whether the person he spoke of was a man or a woman. *R* in *oruvar* does not denote plural number.

3.213327. *INDEFINITE PRONOUNS*: *ḥalla*, *ḥala*, *cila*, *uḷḷa*, *illa*—these words which correspond to indefinite pronouns are included by Tolkāppiyaṅār in the list of *aṅṟiṇai* words. Evidently they are plurals. Their oblique cases are formed by adding the flexional increment *vaṅṟu* after them and before case-suffixes. e.g. *ḥalla-vaṅṟai*, *cila-vaṅṟai*, etc.

*Palar* and *cilar* are not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṅār in the list of *uyartiṇai* nouns; yet he makes use of *ḥalar* in the sūtra *ḥalarāṅi collē* (Tol. Col. 7). They are found freely used in Puṟaṅṇāṅṟū and other works later than Tolkāppiyam. e.g. *māynticiṅṟōr ḥalarē* (many have died). (P.N. 27.6.) *ḥāṅṟum uḷaiyōr cilarē* (there are a few who have songs composed on them). (P. N. 27.5.)

The word *ḥira* also may be placed on a level with *ḥalla*, *ḥala*, etc. In the medieval period, *kaḷ* came to be added to it. e.g. *ḥoyḥporuḷ ḥirakaḷ* (other unreal objects). (C. C. 468.) *cilai-kaḷum ḥirakaḷum* (and other stones). (C. C. 2158). From *ḥira*, the form of *ḥirar* may have been evolved. e.g. *ḥirar vēṅṟu ḥulam* (land desired by others). (Pattu. 197.80): *ḥirarum kūṅi* (even others having joined). (Pattu. 232.518.) This too got the addition of *kaḷ* in the medieval period. e.g. *ḥiraṅṟa-v-akkuḷavikaḷ ḥirarkaḷ yāvarum* (those born infants and others). (C. C. 2834.)

3.214. NUMERALS : 3.2141. CARDINALS : According to Tolkāppiyaṅār, *onṛū*, *iraṅṭū*, etc. are considered *peyar* when they mean one person or object, two persons or objects, etc.<sup>1</sup>. The number corresponding to *seven* is *ēḷ* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār, while *ēḷu* has displaced it in the later periods. There is a tendency at the present day to use the word *orupātū* in place of *pattū*. It seems this tendency existed even in the ancient period (cf. Tol. E. 471 and 472) and in the 12th century since it is found in the inscriptions of that period, e. g. *nūṛṛoru-pattēḷum* (one hundred and seven). (S. I. I. iii, i. 72.13 :) *irunāṛ-ṛorupattum* (two hundred and ten). (S. I. I. iii, i. 78.5.)

The substantive numerals, except *onṛū* are sometimes used as numeral adjectives. e. g. *iraṅṭu maṇilarkaḷ* (two men). When they are used as adjectives, they are not declined as in Sanskrit, i. e., whatever be the case of the noun that it qualifies, only the nominative form is used. e. g. *iraṅṭu maṇilarai*, *mūṇṛu makkaḷāl* etc.

3.2142. ORDINAL NUMBERS are formed in Tamil directly from the cardinal numbers by adding *ām*, the shortened form of the verbal participle *ākum*. Hence we get the forms *onṛām*, *iraṅṭām*, etc. Similarly *āvatu* is added in place of *ām*. Hence we get the forms *onṛāvatū*, *iraṅṭāvatū* etc. Besides there is another form *mutal* for the first ordinal.

3.22. VIṆAI : 3.221. DEFINITION : Tolkāppiyaṅār states that *viṅai* does not take the case-suffix but is found generally denoting the tense also<sup>2</sup>. This is taken to be the definition of verb by his commentators; but it seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṅār did not intend it to be so, since the word *kālamōṭu* in the above sūtra suggests that the verb denotes something else besides time, and the word *niṅaiyuṅkālai* suggests that it is not compulsory that the verb should always denote time. This is borne out by the fact that the *kuṛippu-viṅai* or appellative verb

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1. cf. *ṅaitteṅa-k kiḷakku m-eṅṅu-k-kuṛi-p-peyarum* in Tol. Col. 168. cf. F. N. 7 in p. 106.
  2. *Viṅai y-eṅa-p paṭuvatu vēṛrumai kollātu Niṅaiyuṅkālai-k kālamōṭu tōṇrum.* (Tol. Col. 198.)

like *kāṇakanāṭṭanai* (you are the lord of jungle tract) (P. N. 5.3.) does not denote time. Hence, in my opinion, Tolkāppiyāṇār does not intend this sūtra to be the definition of *viṇai* or verb. Then one may ask what its definition is. I think that he suggests it by the name *viṇai* itself which means action. In choosing that term he may have had in his mind the statements '*taḍ ākhyātam yēna bhāvam*' (R. V. P. 12.5.) and *kriyāvācakan ākhyātam* (S. Y. V. P. 8.46).

The author of *Vīracōliyam* also does not attempt to define *viṇai*, but suggests it by his word '*toḷiṭṭaṭam*' in V.K. 1. The author of *Nēminātam* repeats '*viṇai-y-eyā-p-paṭuṭa . . .*' (Tol. Col. 198.) But *Naṅṇūlār* seems to define *viṇai* as that which denotes *ceyṭavay* or doer, *karuvi* or instrument, *nilam* or place, *ceyṭal* or action, *kālam* or time and *ceyṭoruḷ* or object<sup>1</sup>. This cannot be its definition since a verb cannot denote all the above six things but generally only action and time and person. It is almost certain that this sūtra is only an adaptation of the sūtra

*Viṇai-y-ē ceyvatu ceyā-p-paṭu poruḷē*  
*Nilan-ē kālan karuvi y-eyṭā*  
*Iṇṇataṭ k-iṭu-paya v-āka v-eyṇum*  
*Anṇa maraṭi ṇ-iraṇṇoṭu-n tokaii*  
*Ā-y-eṭ ṭ-eyṭa toḷiṇ-muta ṇilaiyē. (Tol. Col. 112.)*

where it is said that, generally, eight things precede an action, i.e., *viṇai*<sup>2</sup> or *kṛti* mentioned by Sanskrit logicians, *ceyvatu* or

1. *Ceyṭavay karuvi nilan ceyal kālam*  
*Ceyṭoruḷ āṇum taruvatu viṇaiyē. (Na. 320.)*

2. It is worth noting that *viṇai* in this sūtra alone evidently means *kṛti*. *Kṛti* is quite different from *kriyā*. *Kṛti* denotes the volitional effort of mind and *kriyā* denotes the activity that follows volition. All the commentators mistake the word *viṇai* for *kriyā* or *toḷiḷ*, as may be seen, for example, from the statement of *Cēṇavaraiyar* '*vayaintāy eyṭavaiḷi, vayaitaṭṭoḷiḷum, vayainta karuttāvum, etc.*' and the repetition of the same by the author of *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam* (I. V. 226, Comm.). According to their interpretation the meaning of the sūtra becomes, *viṇai* or *toḷiḷ* etc., precedes *toḷiḷ*. How can *toḷiḷ* precede *toḷiḷ*? It may be noted here

doer, *ceyappaṭuṭoruḷ* or object, *nilam* or place, *kālam* or time, *karuvi* or instrument, *iṇṇatarḱū* or the recipient of the result of the action and *itu payaṅ* or the purpose of the action. Tol-kāppiyaṅār does not seem to intend this sūtra as a definition of the verb.

The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam seems to have seen this defect in Nannūlar's definition of *viṇai* and also seems to have noted that the sūtra '*viṇai y-eyā-p-ṭaṭuva* (Tol. Col. 198) is also defective owing to his mistaken notion that it deals with the definition of *viṇai*. So he makes the addition '*ṭoruṭṭai peyarcci pulappaṭuṭ ṭatuṅē*' to Tol. Col. 198. Hence according to him *viṇai* is that which denotes action and time and which does not take case-suffixes after it.

3.222. CLASSIFICATION: Verbs are primarily divided into two classes, viz., *kuṟippu-viṇai* and *viṇai*<sup>1</sup> (latterly known as *terinilai-viṇai*).

3.2221. *KURIPPUVIṆAI* or appellative verbs are in the opinion of Tol-kāppiyaṅār, those that are formed from the words denoting qualities as *āṟṟalēy* (I possess strength) (Pattu. 346. 29), from compounds made up of a word denoting quality and a word denoting any limb as *neṭuāceviyaṅ*, (he has sharp ears) from words made up of a noun and a particle denoting comparison as *ṭonṇaṅṇaṅṇam* (we are like gold in colour). (P. N. 84.2.), and the verbs *inṟū*, *ila*, *uṭaiya*, *ayṟū*, *uṭaittū*, *alla* and *uḷa*,<sup>2</sup>

that the same word *viṇai* is used in other places to denote verb and the word *toḷil* also is used in the same sense.

Cf. *Peyarun toḷilum pirintoruṅ k-icaiṭṭa*. . . (Tol. E. 133.)

1. *Kuṟippiṭum viṇaiyiṅu neṟi-p-ṭaṭa-t- tōyri-k*  
*Kālamoṭu varāum viṇai-c-col l-ellām*  
*Uyartiṇai-k k-urimaiyu m-a-riṇai-k k-urimaiyum*  
*A-y-iru tiṇaiḱkum-ō r-aṅṅa v-urimaiyum*  
*A-m-mū v-urupiṅa tōyṟa l-āṟē.* (Tol. Col. 201.)
2. *Inṟūla v-uṭaiya v-eyṇuṅ kiḷaviyum*  
*Ayṟuṭait- talla v-eyṇuṅ kiḷaviyum*  
*Paṅṇu-koḷ kiḷaviyu m-uḷa-v-ey kiḷaviyum*  
*Paṅṇi ṅ-ākiya ciṅai-mutaṟ kiḷaviyum*



the forms like *kuṇṇukaṇṇū*, etc., and *illai* and *vēṇū*<sup>1</sup> which are common to all genders and numbers.

The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* seems to mention in V.K. 11 that *viṇai* corresponds to the *bhāvēprayōga* in Sanskrit. Since the *bhāvēprayōga* in Sanskrit is used only in the third person singular to denote the action alone as *sthiyatē* for *sthitī* and the *viṇai* is used in both the numbers of all the persons and denotes not only the action but also the person and the number, his view does not seem to be correct.

*Naṇṇūlār* adds to the list of appellative verbs given by *Tolkāppiyāṇār* the words formed from those denoting the time and place as *ōṇattāy*, *kāṇakanāṭṭai* (P.N. 5.3.) and the word *uṇṇū*, and says that *uṇṇū* is common to all genders and numbers<sup>2</sup>. He also defines *kuṇṇuvīṇai* as that which can take only a subject before it and is not governed by any word in the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth or the seventh, case<sup>3</sup>.

The author of *Ilakkaṇavilakkam* and other grammarians except the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* have followed the author of *Naṇṇūlār*.

It seems to me that the form *uṇṇū*<sup>4</sup> (from the root *u*) which may have been used only as the neuter singular like *iṇṇū* and *aṇṇū* at the time of *Tolkāppiyāṇār* was generalised throughout so that it began to be used with all persons, genders and numbers from about the time of *Naṇṇūlār*.

*Oppoṭu varāṇū kiḷaviyoṭu tokai*  
*Appār pattuṇ kuṇṇippoṭu koḷḷum.* (ibid. 220.)

1. *Muṇṇilai viṇai-kōḷ viṇai-y-eṇcu kiḷavi*  
*Iṇmai ceppal vēṇēy kiḷavi*  
*Ceymṇaṇa ceyyuṇ ceṭta v-eṇṇum*  
*A-m-murāi niṇṇa v-ā-y-eṇ kiḷaviyum*  
*Tiriṇu-vēru poṭṭuṇ ceṭtiya v-āki*  
*Iruṇṇai-c coṅkumō r-aṇṇa v-urimaiya.* (ibid. 222.)
2. *Vēṇillai y-uṇṇaim pāl-mū v-iṭattāṇa.* (Na. 339.)  
*Evaṇ-eṇ viṇai-kaḷ kuṇṇippu iḷi y-iru-pāl.* (ibid. 350.)
3. *Poruḷ-muta l-āṇṇum tōṇṇi-muṇ v-āṇṇu!*  
*Viṇai-mutal māṭṭirai viḷakkal viṇai-k-kuṇṇipṇē.* (ibid. 321.)
4. cf. *Iṭai-p-paṭṭir kuṇṇuku m-iṭṭaṇu mār-uṇṇē.* (Tol. E. 37.)



The author of Pirayōkavivēkam seems to think that the *kuṛiṭṭuviṇai* which are formed from nouns correspond to the *nāmadhātus* (denominatives) found in Sanskrit. For instance, the Tamil appellative verbs, *ṣāmpaṇaiyāṇ*, *aruṭṭūṇ* are similar in nature to the *nāmadhātus* *puttrīyati*, *kṛṣṇāyatē*, etc. But it seems to me that they (*kuṛiṭṭuviṇai*) are not so, though both are derived from nouns; for, *puttrīyati* means either he wishes to have a son or he wants to act like a son; similarly, *tapasyati* means he wishes to perform penance; *mālāti* means it acts like a garland and so on; but *makaṇṭēṇ* in Tamil (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 722, 7), means 'I am the son'. Hence there is a great difference in *sense*, between *nāmadhātus* in Sanskrit and appellative verbs in Tamil. Besides there is a difference in the *form* too. Generally, one of the particles *kyac*, *kyan* etc. is added between the noun and the verbal terminations in Sanskrit denominatives, and such verbs are used in all tenses and moods. But in Tamil appellatives, the verbal termination is invariably added directly to the nouns and they have no tense-element in their forms.

Hence I may say that the appellative verbs form a special feature of the Tamil Language. Originally, they may have been participial nouns and later on used as logical predicates. Afterwards, they may have been included under verbs.

3.2222. VIṆAI OR TERINILAI VIṆAI : 3.22221. CLASSIFICATION INTO SIMPLE AND CAUSAL VERBS : *Terinilai-viṇai* may be divided under two heads—*taṇ-viṇai* or simple verb and *ṣiṇa-viṇai* or causal verb. It should be clearly understood here that *taṇ-viṇai* and *ṣiṇa-viṇai* do not at all correspond to *ātmanēṣada* and *ṣasmaiṣada* respectively as stated by Dr. Caldwell.<sup>1</sup> For, *taṇ-viṇai* denotes an action done by the person or thing denoted by its subject, while *ṣiṇa-viṇai* denotes an action done by one other than the agent denoted by the subject. But in Sanskrit if a root can take both *ātmanēṣada* and *ṣasmaiṣada* terminations, the former are used when the result of the action goes to the doer and the latter when it goes to some one other than the doer.

1. C. D. G. 449.

*Taṅ-viṇai* is transitive (*ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ-kunṇūviṇai*) or intransitive (*ceya-p-paṭu-poruḷ-kunṇiya-viṇai*) according as it takes an object after it or not. In the sentence 'vaṟumai nōkkinṇū' (noted the poverty) (P.N. 141.15.) *nōkkinṇū* is transitive since *vaṟumai* (the accusative sign 'ai' is elided here) is its object, and in the sentence 'cellāmōṭil cilvaḷai viṇali' (oh *viṇali* with a few bracelets, shall we go?) (P.N. 64.2.), *cellāmō* is intransitive. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement that the *taṅ-viṇai*.....are all necessarily as well as formally, intransitives<sup>1</sup> is not accurate.

The terms *taṅ-viṇai* and *piṇa-viṇai* are suggested by Tol-kāppiyaṇār by the words *taṅpālāṇum* and *piṇaṅpālāṇum* respectively in the sūtra

*Itu-ceyal vēṇṭu m-eṇṇuṅ kiḷavi*  
*Iru-vayi ṇilai-y-un poruṭṭ-ā kumṇē*  
*Taṅ-pā l-āṇum piṇaṅ-pā l-āṇum.* (Tol. Col. 243.)

Peruntēvaṇār, the commentator on Viracōḷiyam respectively calls them *kēvala-tātu* and *kārīta-tātu*<sup>2</sup>, while the author of Naṇṇūl uses the term *ēval-viṇai* for *piṇa-viṇai*<sup>3</sup>, perhaps not liking the Sanskritic denomination *kārīta-tātu*.

The statement of Dr. Caldwell that 'these verbs (causals) have been classed with transitives both by the native grammarians and by Europeans, and Beschi alone places them in a class by themselves and calls them *ēval-viṇai*'<sup>4</sup> is therefore incorrect.

3.222211. *HOW ARE CAUSAL VERBS FORMED?* Tol-kāppiyaṇār has not stated how causal verbs are formed. But in the literature of the Sangam period, the following forms of causals are found :—

1. C. D. G. 450.

2. *Āṭṭiṇāṅ kēvala-t-tātu; āṭṭiṇāṅ kārīta-t-tātu.* (V. Tāt, 6, Comm.)

3. *Cey-y-eṅ viṇai-vaḷi vi-p-pi taṅi-varin*  
*Ceyvi-y-eṅ ṅ-ēva l-iṇai-y-i ṅ-irēval.* (Na. 138.)

4. C. D. G. 455.

Examples :	Quotations :
1. <i>uyarkkuvai</i>	<i>naṭṭavar-kuṭi-y-uyarkkuvai</i> (Pattu. 217. 131) (You will raise the fallen families).
2. <i>ṭeyarkkuvai</i>	<i>ceṇṇavar aracu ṭeyarkkuvai</i> (Pattu. 217. 132) (You will displace the sovereignty of the enemies).
3. <i>ṭōkki</i>	<i>kaiṇēl kaṭiṇṇoṭu ṭōkki</i> (K. 774) (Having sent the hand-trident with elephants).
4. <i>tolaicci</i>	<i>kaṭikāviṇilai tolaicci</i> (Pattu. 218.153) (Having spoiled the guarded state of forests).
5. <i>kaṭiṭṭi</i>	<i>maṇṇai yāman ṭakal uṇa-k-kaṭiṭṭi</i> (Pattu. 236.653) (Having spent the remaining part of the day).
6. <i>tirutti</i>	<i>kōl tirutti</i> (P.N. 17.5) (Having reformed the sceptre [rule]).
7. <i>cērtti</i>	<i>ṭarṇuvali-c-cērtti</i> (Cilap. 337.108) (Having attuned it to a song called <i>ṭarṇu</i> ).
8. <i>uruṭṭi</i>	<i>āḷi-tiṇṇaṭṭa-v-uruṭṭi</i> (M. M. 61.76) (Having rolled the wheel so that it may become firm).
9. <i>ōṭṭi</i>	<i>alittōṭṭi</i> (Ep. I. Vol. XVII, Part VII. V. G. 95) (Having driven after routing them).
10. <i>vāḷṭti</i>	<i>ataṇ ṭāḷ vāḷṭti</i> (Pattu. 220.222) Having praised its feet).

From these it is seen that causals are formed from *taṇ-viṇai* (1) by the doubling of the consonant of the formative as in examples 1 to 5 noted above, (2) by the doubling of the initial consonant of the signs of tense as in examples 6 and 7, (3) by the doubling of the final consonant of the root as in examples 8 and 9 or (4) by adding the particle 'tu' to the root as in example 10.

In addition to such forms, the following forms are found in a few instances in Kuṇṇaḷ and in large numbers in the literature

written after the 5th century A.D. and in inscriptions of the same period.

<i>uḷappikkum</i>	<i>uḷappikkuñ cūṭi</i> (K. 938).
<i>nayaḷḷittār</i>	<i>nayaḷḷittār nalkāmai</i> (K. 1190).
<i>āḷḷuvittāl</i>	<i>āḷḷuvittālār oruvar āḷātārē</i> (T. 1229. stanza. 3).
<i>aḷakkuvittāl</i>	<i>aḷakkuvittālār oruvar aḷaṅkātārē</i> Do.
<i>ōḷḷuvittāl</i>	<i>ōḷḷuvittālār oruvar ōḷātārē</i> Do.
<i>urukuvittāl</i>	<i>urukuvittālār oruvar urukātārē</i> Do.
<i>pāḷḷuvittāl</i>	<i>pāḷḷuvittālār oruvar pāḷātārē</i> Do.
<i>paṇivittāl</i>	<i>paṇivittālār oruvar paṇiyātārē</i> (T. 1229.3).
<i>kāḷḷuvittāl</i>	<i>kāḷḷuvittālār oruvar kāḷātārē</i> Do.
<i>ceyvittāṅ</i>	<i>tāmra śāsanañ-jeyvittāṅ</i> (I.A. Vol. 22, p. 71 M.M.P.).
<i>murruvikka</i>	<i>vēḷvi murruvikka</i> (Ep. I. Vol. XVII. Part VII. V.G. 36).
<i>aṟuḷḷiḷḷāṅ</i>	<i>kattarūḷḷiḷḷāṅ</i> (T. 17.4).

Here two points may be noted:—(1) In words like *paṇivittāl*, *ceyvittāṅ*, *aṟuḷḷiḷḷāṅ*, *vi* or *pi* is added direct to the root and (2) in words like *ōḷḷuvittāl*, *āḷḷuvittāl*, etc., *vi* is added to the causal forms *ōḷḷū*, *āḷḷū*, etc., of the roots *ōḷḷu*, *āḷḷu*, etc. Hence *ōḷḷuvittāl* *āḷḷuvittāl*, etc., may be considered as double causals. Perhaps, seeing such examples, the author of Viracōliyam said in V. Tāt. 6 that the forms like *āḷḷū*, *āḷḷū*, are *kāritam* or causals and if *vi* or *pi* is added once after them, they become *kāritak-kāritam* or double causals and if *vi* or *pi* is added twice after them as *āḷḷuviḷḷāṅ*, they become *kāritakkāritakkāritam* or triple causals. But he has failed to note that *vi* or *pi* may be added direct to roots to make them causals even though examples like *uḷappikkum* and *ceyvittāṅ* were found before him.

Possibly to remove this defect Nannūlar says that *ēval* or causals are made by adding *vi* or *pi* to the root and *irēval* or double causals, by adding either of them twice or both once<sup>1</sup>, and does not mention triple causals.

1. *Cey-y-eṅ viṅai-vaḷi vi-p-pi taṅi-variṅ*  
*Ceyvi-y-eṅ ṅ-ēva l-iṅai-y-i ṅ-ir-ēval.* (Na. 138.)

The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*, though he agrees with *Naṇṇūlār* that *ēval* or causals are formed by adding *vi* or *pi* to the root<sup>1</sup>, feels that the mention of *īrēval* is absolutely unnecessary<sup>2</sup>.

The author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* prefers the Sanskritic term *kāritam* to denote *ēval* like the author of *Viracōliyam* and mentions, in P.V. 35, that causals are formed by adding *vi* or *pi*, and, in the commentary on the same sūtra, says that they are also formed by the doubling of the consonant of the formative. In the same place he imports the Sanskritic grammatical term *ṇijanta* and composes a small sūtra '*viṇṇi ṇicantaṅ kāritam ākum*'. He calls the forms *āṭṭū*, *ūṭṭū*, etc. '*sahaja-ṇijanta*'. When the ordinary form like *eṭutta* is used for the casual form *eṭupṭitta*, as in '*aracaṅ eṭutta-v-ālayam*', he says it is a case of '*antarbhāvitāṇic*'.

From this it is evident that the ordinary forms of verbs are also used in causal sense. The word '*tapu*' mentioned by *Iḷampūraṇar* under Tol. E. 76 which means 'die or make another die' is a fitting example of this.

The introduction of the terms *ṇijanta* and *antarbhāvitāṇic* by the author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* in Tamil grammar does not seem to be appropriate, since the term *ṇic* denotes the causal pratyaya *i* in Sanskrit, while the causal elements in Tamil are of varied nature.

In this connection, it may be mentioned that, in the indeclinable participial forms like *koḷīi*, *niṅīi*, where the roots are *koḷ* and *niḷ*, the element *īi* is considered by the present day Tamil Pandits to be the elongated *ī* and to convey the causal sense. In order to determine whether it is exactly so, I give below a brief analysis of all the indeclinable participial forms found in *Puraṇāṅṇūṟu* and *Pattuppāṭṭū*.

1. *Muṅṅa r-ōtiya mutayilai y-iṅutiyiṅ*  
*Vi-p-pi y-eṅpavaṅ ṇoppatu taṅi-varin*  
*ēval viṅai-mutaṅ ṇerinilai viṅaiyiṅ*  
*Mēvaru pakuti yām-eṅa molīpa.* (I. V. 44.)
2. *Irukāl-ēvutal kūṅiyatu kūral-ām-ākaliṅ....* (I. V. 44, Comm.)

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Root.	Indeclinable participial form in which it appears.	No. of times in Puṛa-nāṇūṟu.	No. of times in Pattu-p-pāṭṭu.
(a) <i>ari</i>	<i>arīi</i> (causal)	...	1
	<i>aṟi</i> (simple)	1	...
	<i>kaḷi</i> do.	...	1
	<i>kuḷi</i> do.	2	7
	<i>taḷi</i> do.	9	10
	(causal)	...	2
	(passive sense)	...	1
	<i>paḷi</i> <i>paḷīi</i> (causal)	1	...
	<i>muḷi</i> <i>muḷīi</i> (simple)	3	2
	(noun)		
	<i>muri</i> <i>murīi</i> do.	1	...
(b) <i>iru</i>	<i>irīi</i> (simple)	...	1
	(causal)	2	5
	<i>uḷi</i> (simple)	...	3
	(causal)	...	2
	<i>uru</i> <i>urīi</i> (simple)	...	2
	(causal)	...	1
	<i>uṟu</i> <i>uṟīi</i> do.	1	...
	<i>oru</i> <i>orīi</i> (simple)	4	1
	<i>keḷu</i> <i>keḷīi</i> do.	1	4
	(causal)	...	1
	<i>ceruku</i> <i>cerīi</i> (simple)	1	1
	<i>taru</i> <i>tari</i> do.	...	5
	<i>maru(vu)</i> <i>marīi</i> do.	...	1
	<i>veru(vu)</i> <i>verīi</i> do.	...	5
	<i>poru(vu)</i> <i>porīi</i> do.	...	1
(c) <i>acai</i>	<i>acaii</i> do.	2	10
	<i>aḷai</i> <i>aḷaii</i> do.	...	4
	(passive sense)	...	1
	<i>urai</i> <i>uraii</i> (simple)	...	1
	<i>kaṭai</i> <i>kaṭaii</i> do.	...	2
	<i>kavai</i> <i>kavaii</i> do.	...	2
	(causal)	...	1
	<i>kuvai</i> <i>kuvaii</i> do.	...	3

Root.	Indeclinable participial form in which it appears.	No. of times in Pura-nānūru.	No. of times in Pattu-p-pāṭṭu.
<i>kai</i>	<i>kaii</i> (simple)	...	1
<i>taḷai</i>	<i>taḷaii</i> do.	...	1
<i>tuḷai</i>	<i>tuḷaii</i> (causal)	...	1
<i>tai</i>	<i>taii</i> (simple)	1	1
<i>nacai</i>	<i>nacaii</i> do.	1	3
<i>nirai</i>	<i>niraii</i> (causal)	..	1
<i>nilai</i>	<i>nilaii</i> (simple)	...	1
<i>niṅai</i>	<i>niṅaii</i> do.	...	1
<i>muṅai</i>	<i>muṅaii</i> do.	2	2
<i>vaḷai</i>	<i>vaḷaii</i> (simple)	1	2
	(causal)	1	6
	(passive sense)	1	...
<i>virai</i>	<i>viraii</i> (simple)	2	4
	(causal)	...	1
(d) <i>koḷ</i>	<i>koḷi</i> do.	8	7
<i>niḷ</i>	<i>niḷi</i> do.	2	3

This list shows that *aḷapeḷai* is found in the indeclinable participles of roots ending in the vowels *i*, *u* and *ai* and in the consonants *l* and *ḷ*. It seems to me that it may occur even in roots ending in consonants other than *l* and *ḷ* since the form *uṅṅi* (meaning *uṅṅai*) is found in *Aiṅkuṅunūru*. But of the roots ending in vowels only those that end in *i*, *u* or *ai* take it.

Besides, it is seen from the list that their usage as *tan-viṅai* or simple verbs to their usage as *ḷiṅa-viṅai* or causal verbs is roughly in the ratio of 2 : 1. Since the active form itself is capable of giving passive sense in Tamil, we need not discuss the cases where the passive sense is conveyed in some of the examples noted above.

In the examples under (c) and (a), we should carefully consider whether the final *i* is the element showing the elongation of the previous *ai* or *ī*, or is a separate element by itself. My opinion is that it is the latter; and it is the element that is added to roots to form indeclinable participles as it is in the forms *uḷaṅki*, *ḷaṅi*, etc. Thus, in the forms of the roots ending



in *ai* as *acaii*, *ai* is the final element of the root, and *i*, the sign of the indeclinable participle. If that be so, one may ask, whether it is not necessary to have the intervocalic *y* between *ai* and *i*. The sūtra:

*Ellā moḷikkū m-uyir-varu valiyē*

*Uṭam-paṭu mey-y-i ṅ-uruvu-koḷal varaiyār.*

(Tol. E. 141.)

clearly says that the insertion of the intervocalic element is only optional. Then what is the element in such cases that makes them causal? It is the context that makes the ordinary forms of verbs convey a causal sense.

The forms *koḷi*, *niṅi* of the roots ending in consonants mentioned under head (d) may have been formed thus:—*koḷ* (root) + *i* (auxiliary verb, meaning to give) + *i* (sign of the indeclinable participle) and *niḷ* + *i* + *i*. Here the root *i* is added as an auxiliary to give causal sense. Thus *koḷi* means 'having taken' and *koḷi* means 'having given to take' i.e. having allowed another to take. The cases where the root *i* is used as an auxiliary are largely found in works of Sangam period, especially in Kalittokai. (e. g. *vantiṅku collukuttivāyē* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 420.19.); *pākaṅ vantiyāṅ kol.* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 429.10.) In these two examples, *collukuttivāyē* and *vantiyāṅ* only mean *colluvāyē* and *vantiāṅ* respectively. Though *i* generally gives causal sense, yet here it does not denote it like the *ṅic* in the root forms *cōrayati*, etc. of the 10th conjugation in Sanskrit. That such usage is common is seen from the statement in P. V. 35 Comm. that the word *tēṅṅātavar* in the sentence '*naṭṭpāṭarēṅṅātavar*' means only *tēṅṅātavar* and hence *tēṅṅātavar* is a *kārita* denoting '*svārtha*.'

In this context it may be seen that other roots also like *taru varu* are largely used as auxiliaries without any special sense. (e.g.).....*tirilaru*.....(Pattu. 1.1) *citaitara* (Pari. 76.48.); *tuyal-varūm* (Pattu. 7.86). Besides both *i* and *laru* are used as auxiliaries in the same word. (e. g.) *iṅku vanṭittantāy* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 583.4).

Then as regards *ī* in the forms *arīi*, *irīi*, etc. derived from the roots ending in *i* and *u* mentioned under (a) and (b), I may say that the auxiliary *ī* was added to them, when their final vowel disappeared.<sup>1</sup> In the later periods the forms *kaḷīi*, *uḷīi*, etc., have given place to *kaḷittū*, *uḷuttū*, etc. (e.g.) *kaḷittar karumai-yāl* (N. 56.): *tukilum uḷuttū* (N. 264), and *urīi*, etc. to *uruvī*, etc. so that the root is now considered as *uruvu*, etc.

Again the forms with *vi* or *ḥi* are not found, as far as I see, in the Sangam works earlier than Kuṛaḷ. What could have been the reason for the introduction of *vi* or *ḥi*? *Pi* and *vi* in such examples as *kaḷipḥi* (Pattu. 236,653.) and *kaḷuvi* (Pattu. 353,324) where *ḥ* and *v* are intervocalics may have been mistaken to be similar to *pi* and *vi* in the Sanskrit forms *dāpitaḥ*, *māpitaḥ*, *sphāvitaḥ* even though *ḥ* or *v* is considered in Sanskrit not as a causal suffix, but the element added before the causal suffix *i*, and then such forms as *kuṛavittu* (T. 2.81), etc. may have been used.

In colloquial Tamil, words like *ḥāḥa-c-ceyḷēy* and *kaḷḥa-ḥ-ḥaṇṇiyēy* are used instead of *ḥāḥuvittēy* and *kaḷḥuvittēy*.

The formation of double and triple causals is a peculiar development in Tamil. It is not seen in Sanskrit.

3.2222. MOODS, VOICES AND TENSES: *Terinilai-viṇai* has four moods, indicative, *ēval* or imperative, *viyaṅkōḷ* or optative and *eccam* or infinitive, and two voices—active affirmative and active negative—in the ancient period, and four voices—active affirmative, active negative, passive affirmative and passive negative—in the medieval and modern periods. There are three tenses in the indicative and infinitive moods, while there is only one in the imperative and the optative moods.

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1. This point suggested itself to me in the following circumstances:—The addition of syllables to increase the quantity is allowed by Tolkāppiyaṅār in verse and also in the use of vocatives. He has nowhere said that it is used to give the sense of indeclinable participle. The insertion of intervocalic *y*, *v* etc. is, according to him, optional. The roots *taru*, *varu* and *ī* are found in large numbers as auxiliaries in the literature of the Sangam

3.222221. *INDICATIVE MOOD* : 3.2222211  
*ACTIVE AFFIRMATIVE VOICE*: The verbs in the indicative mood of the active affirmative voice denote three points;—*action, time* and *person*. The element denoting action is evidently the root like *ṣṭ, nil*, etc.; the element denoting person is the verbal termination, *aṅ, āṅ*, etc., which will shortly be dealt with in detail; the element denoting time is not mentioned by Tolkāp-piyaṅār; but the fact that he recognises such an element is seen from his statement that the past tense is sometimes used for the future and so on.<sup>1</sup> The later grammarians like the authors of *Viracōliyam, Naṅṅūl*, etc. make mention of them. What they are will be indicated after a detailed examination of personal terminations.

3.22222111. *PERSONAL TERMINATIONS (ANCIENT PERIOD)*.

	Singular:	Plural:
Ist person	<i>eṅ, ēṅ, al, kú,</i> <i>ṭū, tū, rú<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>aṃ, āṃ, em, ēṃ, kuṃ,</i> <i>ṭuṃ, tuṃ, ruṃ<sup>3</sup>.</i>

period, and *i* is found as the sign of the indeclinable participles in *uraṅki, pāṭi* etc.

1. *Vārak kālattu nikaḷuñ kālattum*  
*Ōrāṅku varāum viṅai-c-cor kīlavi*  
*Iṅanta kālattu-k kuṛippoṭu kīlattal*  
*Virainta poruḷa v-eṅmaṅār pūlavar.* (Tol Col. 241.)
2. *Ka-ṭa-ta-ṛa v-eṅṅum*  
*A-n-nāṅ k-ārnta kuṅṅiya lukaramoṭu*  
*Eṅ-ṅ-ē ṅ-al-l-eṅa varāu m-ēḷun*  
*Taṅ-viṅai y-uraikkun taṅmai-c collē.* (ibid. 203.)
3. *Avaitām*  
*Am-m-ā m-em-m-ē m-eṅṅuṅi kīlaviyum*  
*Um-m-oṭu varāuñ ka-ṭa-ta-ṛa v-eṅṅum*  
*A-n-nāṅ kīlaviyo ṭ-ā-y-eṅ kīlaviyum*  
*Paṅmai y-uraikkun taṅmai-c collē.* (ibid. 202.)

	Singular :	Plural :
2nd person	<i>i, ai, āy, ōy</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>ir, īr.</i> <sup>2</sup>
3rd person		
(a) masculine	<i>aṅ, āṅ, ōṅ</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>ar, ār, ōr, pa</i> and <i>mār.</i>
(b) feminine	<i>aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ</i>	epicene plural. <sup>4</sup> & <sup>5</sup>
(c) neuter	<i>ṭu, lu, ṛu</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>a, ā, va.</i> neuter plural. <sup>7</sup>
(MEDIEVAL & MODERN PERIODS.)		
1st person	<i>eṅ, ēṅ, al, aṅ</i> <i>kū, ṭū, tū, ṛū</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>am, ām, em, ēm, eṅkaḷ,</i> <i>ōm, kum, ṭum, lum, ṛum.</i> <sup>9</sup>

1. *Avaṛṛuḷ*  
*Muṅṅilai-k kiḷavi*  
*I-ai āy-eṅa varāu māṅṅum*  
*Oppa-t tōṅṅu m-oruvarkku m-oṅṅarkum.* (ibid. 223.)  
*Āy-eṅ kiḷaviyu m-avaṛṛoṭu koḷḷum.* (ibid. 212.)
2. *Ir-ir miṅ-ṅ-eṅa varāu māṅṅum*  
*Pallōr maruṅkiṅum palavaṛṛu maruṅkiṅuṅ*  
*Collōr-aṅaiya v-eṅmaṅār pulavar.* (ibid. 224.)
3. *Aṅ-āṅ al-ā l-eṅṅu nāṅkum*  
*Oruvār maruṅkiṅ paṭarkkai-c collē.* (ibid. 205.)
4. *Ar-ār pa-eṅa varāu māṅṅum*  
*Pallōr maruṅkiṅ paṭarkkai-c collē.* (ibid. 206.)  
*Mārai-k kiḷavi-y-um pallōr paṭarkkai*  
*Kāla-k kiḷaviyoṭu muṭiyu m-eṅpa.* (ibid. 207.)
5. *Pāl-aṅi maraṭi ṅ-am-mā v-irrum*  
*A-v-ō v-ākuṅ ceṅṅu l-uḷḷē.* (ibid. 211.)
6. *Oṅṅaṅ paṭarkkai ta-ra-ṭa v-ūrnta*  
*Kuṅṅiya lukara-t t-iṅṅuṭi y-ākum.* (ibid. 217.)
7. *A-ā va-eṅa varāu m-iṅṅuṭi*  
*Appāṅ māṅṅē palavaṛṛu-p paṭarkkai.* (ibid. 216.)
8. *Tāy-āy-un-tir-irūṅ cāṅṅiya-tirkaḷ-o ṭ-irkaḷ-um-āṅ*  
*āyāta muṅṅilai y-iṅ-ṅ-irappān-taṅmai taṅ-ṅ-irappiṅ*  
*Rēyāta-tēṅ-ēṅ-un tēm-ēm-un-tōm-ōm-umu m-ākum-eṅpa*  
*Vēyār-potiyat t-akattiyāyār-coṅṅa me-y-t-tamiḷkkē.*  
(V. K. 6.)  
*Kiṅāy-niṅṅāy-kiṅṅir niṅṅir-kiṅṅirkaḷ-niṅṅirkaḷ-um-āy*  
*Irā-niṅṅāy-muṅṅiḷai-y-iṅ-ṅikaḷcci y-itāṅ-kattāṅmai*  
*Kiṅē eṅ-niṅṅēṅ-kiṅē (m) niṅṅōṅ-kiṅōm-u*  
*niṅṅōm-um-eṅṅān*

	Singular :	Plural :
2nd person	<i>i, ai, āy, ōy</i>	<i>ir, ĩr, ĩrkaḷ,</i>
3rd person		
(a) masculine	<i>aṅ, āṅ, ōṅ</i>	{ <i>ar, ār, ōr,</i> epicene
(b) feminine	<i>aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ</i>	{ <i>ārkaḷ, pa, māṛ.</i> plural.
(c) neuter	<i>tū, rū</i>	{ <i>a &amp; ā.</i> neuter plural, { <i>(ā in the negative mood.)</i>

*Eṅ* and *Ēṅ*: Of these two terminations, *eṅ* is more frequently used in the ancient period than *ēṅ*, and whenever it is used, it is preceded by a *cāriyai aṅ*. (e.g.) *kaṅṅaṅeṅ* (I found) (P. N. 23.17.): *vantaṅeṅ* (I came) (P. N. 158.20.): in the later

*Terā-niṅṅa-kaṅ-pava laṅ-tikaḷ-vāy-naṅ rirntaiyaiyē.*

(ibid. 7.)

*Vāy-pāy-vīr-pīr-vīrkaḷ pīrkaḷ-ivai-maṅṅu muṅṅilaiyir*

*Cāypāyviṭum-etir kalam-ilaiyūḷi-t taṅmaicollin*

*Vēy-pāvīya-toḷi vēṅ-pēṅ-vēm pēmoṅu vōm-pōm-um-āṅ*

*Cey-pāvīya-ceḷum pōti-p-pīrāṅ-raṅ rirunturaikkē.* (ibid.8.)

*Ku-tu-tu-rū eṅṅuṅ kurriya-lukaramōṭū*

*Al-aṅ eṅ-ēṅ āku m-irra*

*Iru-tinai mu-k-kūṅ r-orumait-t taṅmai.* (Na. 331.)

*Am-ām eṅpaṅ muṅṅilai y-ārai-yum*

*Em-ēm ōm-ivai paṅarkkai y-ārai-yum*

*Um-ūr ka-ta-ta-ra iru-pā l-ārai-yum*

*Taṅṅoṅu paṅukkun taṅmai-p paṅmai.* (ibid. 332.)

*Ai-āy ikara v-irra māṅṅum*

*Evaliṅ varāu m-ellā v-irravum*

*Muppā l-orumai muṅṅilai moḷiyē.* (ibid. 335.)

*Ir-ir irra irāṅṅu m-iru-tinai-p*

*Paṅmai muṅṅilai miṅ-avaṅ r-ēval.* (ibid. 337.)

*Ku-tu-tu-rū v-eṅṅuṅ kurriya-lukaramo*

*Tal-l-aṅ v-eṅ-ē v-āku m-irra*

*Iru-tinai mu-k-kūṅ r-orumait-t taṅmai-yum*

*Am-m-ā m-irra muṅṅilai y-ārai-yum*

*Em-m-ē m-ōm-ivai paṅarkkai y-ārai-yum*

*Um-m-ūr ka-ta-ta-ra v-iru-pā l-ārai-yum*

*Taṅṅoṅu paṅukkun taṅmai-p paṅmai-yum.* (I. V. 237.)

*Ai-y-ā y-ikara v-irra māṅṅu*

period *ēy* is more frequently used, (e.g.) *ukantēy nāy* (I praised) (P. T. 169.4); *niyyaḥāntēy nāy* (I went to you) (P. T. 169.5). These two are used in all tenses. *Ey* is used even without the *cāriyai*. (e.g.) *kāḥḥey* (I will protect) (Kampar. A. 232.28).

- Mēvaliṅ varū m-ellā v-irō*  
*Ṭ-al-lā l-ēl-kā ṅ-eyṅ m-iravum*  
*Muppā l-orumai muppilai viyaiyum*  
*Ir-i r-irra v-iranṅu m-irutiṅai-p*  
*Paymai muppilai-y-u miṅṅu m-irra*  
*Aṅṅavar ṅ-ēvalu m-ām-ena moḷipa.* (ibid. 238.)  
*Tāy-āy-un-tāl-āl-un tār-ārun-tārkaḷ-o ṭ-ārkaḷ-eyṅ*  
*Menām-uraiṭa pirattiyam-ākun tātu-v-atu-v-un*  
*Tēy-ār-kuḷali taya-v-un-āya-v-un tikaḷ-paṭarkkai*  
*Aṅ-ā-v-iyappiṅ roḷiṅpatam-āriṅku m-āyṅta-riyē.* (V. K. 3.)  
*Niṅṅay kiṅṅ-otu niṅṅāḷ-kiṅṅ-ivai niṅṅār-kiṅṅ*  
*Niṅṅārkaḷ-ōtu-kiṅṅ rārkaḷu-niṅṅratuṅ kiṅṅratu-v-un*  
*Teyṅāta-cir-niṅṅ rāya-kiṅṅāya-v-un tikaḷ-paṭarkkai-p*  
*Piṅṅāṅikaḷkai toḷiṅ-patam-āriṅkum pēṅṅariyē.* (ibid. 4.)  
*Vāy-pāy-um-vāḷ-pāḷ-um vār-pār-um-vār kaḷ-um*  
*pārkaḷ-uṅ-cir*  
*Tāy-pāviya-v-atu v-um-patu-v-un-tattai y-attai-v-eyṅ*  
*Tēy-pāvūḷ-collī vaṅṅa-v-um-pāya-v-un tikaḷ-paṭarkkai*  
*Vāy-pāy-maliyu m-etirvīṅ-roḷiṅpata m-āriṅkumē.* (ibid. 5.)  
*Aṅ-ā-n-iru-moḷi āṅpār paṭarkkai.* (Na. 325.)  
*Al-ā-l-iru-moḷi pēṅpār paṭarkkai.* (ibid. 326.)  
*Ar-ār pa-v-v-ā r-ākara mā r-irra*  
*Pallōr paṭarkkai mār viṅṅai-y-ōṅṅ muṅṅimē.* (ibid. 327.)  
*Tu-ru-ṅu-k kurriya lukara v-irra*  
*Oṅṅay paṭarkkai ṅu-k kurippi ṅ-ākum.* (ibid. 328.)  
*Aṅ v-irra palaviṅ paṭarkkai*  
*A-v-ē etirmaraiḷ kaṅṅa t-ākum.* (ibid. 329.)  
*Aṅ-ṅ-ā ṅ-iru-moḷi y-āṅpār paṭarkkaiyum*  
*Al-l-ā ṅ-iru-moḷi pēṅpār paṭarkkaiyum*  
*Ar-ār pa-v-v-ā r-ākāra māriṅṅa*  
*Pallōr paṭarkkaiyum pakaru-māy ṅ-avarruṅ*  
*Mārai-k kiḷavi viṅṅaiyoṅṅ muṅṅiyuṅ*  
*Mēlaiḷ kiḷaviyoṅṅ vērupā ṅiṅṅē.* (I. V. 232.)  
*Tu-ru-ṅu-k kurriya lukara v-irra*  
*Oṅṅay paṭarkkaiyum a-ā v-irra*

*AL*: The commentator on *Viracōliyam* says that *al* is used to denote the determination of the speaker.<sup>1</sup> *Cēṅāvaraiyar* says in his commentary on the *sūtra*

*Ka-ṭa-ta-ṭa v-eṅṅum*

*A-n-nāṅ k-ūrnta-kurṭiya l-ukaramōṭi*

*Eṅ-ṅ-ē ṅ-al-l-eṅa varūu m-ēlum*

*Taṅ-viṅai y-uraikkum taṅmai-c-collē.* (Tol. Col. 203.)

that *al* is preceded by *ṣ* or *v* and is used only in verbs denoting the future tense. *Nacciṅārkkiniyar* adds in his commentary on the same *sūtra* that it is sometimes used in the verbs denoting present tense also as in the word *uṅṅā-niṅṅal* (I eat). The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with *Cēṅāvaraiyar*.<sup>2</sup> In the literature of the Sangam period, though *al* is generally used in verbs denoting future tense, yet there are instances where it is found in verbs denoting past tense also. (e.g.) *kaṅṅaṅṅ varuval* (I came to see) (P. N. 23.17) and *ivaikaiyōṭi varuval* (I came eagerly) (P. N. 165.14). But in all the instances, the *determination of the speaker* is implied. Hence the opinion of the commentator of *Viracōliyam* seems to me to be more satisfactory. This may perhaps be the reason why *Tolkāppiyaṅār* has not mentioned the element that denotes tense signs and the particular terminations that are used after them.

*AN*: This is not mentioned by *Tolkāppiyaṅār* as a termination of the first person singular. But there are instances in *Puṇanānūru* '*uraittaṅṅ yāṅ*' (I said) (P. N. 136.22) *yāṅum... vantaṅṅ* (even I came) (P. N. 154.7) where *aṅ* is so used. Similar examples are found in later literature also. (e.g.) *ceykuvaṅ tavam eṅa* (that I will do penance) (M. M. 50.182). These examples may have induced the author of *Viracōliyam* to state

*Palaviṅ paṭarkkaiyum pakarumaṅ ṅ-avaṅ-uṭ*

*Tu-v-v-iru kiḷavi kurippiz k-ēṅṅalum*

*Ā-v-i r-etirmaṅai-k k-ākalu m-uriya.* (ibid. 234.)

1. *Tuṅivu-ṣ-poruṅṅ-kaṅ taṅmai-y-orumaiyil vaṅ, paṅ eṅṅum iraṅṅu piṛattiyum-ām.* (V. K. 10, Comm.)

2. *Uṅṅal, varuval eṅa varum al-l-iṅṅu-t : taṅmai-y-orumai-murru-c-collum... etirkālam-paṅṅi varum.* (I. V. 237, Comm.)



that *aṅ* along with *ṣ* or *v* as *ṣaṅ* or *vaṅ* is the first person singular termination.<sup>1</sup>

The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* says that *aṅ* is used in verbs denoting future tense.<sup>2</sup> But the example *uraittaṅ* cited above denotes only past tense. Hence the opinion of the author of *Viracōliyam* seems to me to be more satisfactory.

*WHAT MAY BE THE ORIGIN OF THIS Aṅ?* This may be identical with *aṅ* of the third person singular masculine. Since there is sometimes a tendency to use third person 'to denote the speaker himself possibly out of modesty, this may have been originally used to denote first person in *sense* though, in *form*, it may have been taken as third person singular masculine, and afterwards the form itself may have been mistaken for that of the first person. Or the third personal termination *aṅ* itself may have been used originally both for the third and the first person at the beginning of the formation of the language and these instances may be the survivals of such pre-historic usage; for, if we observe the growth of language in children, it is seen that it takes a long time for them to grasp the idea of 'I' and so they generally refer to themselves only in the third person. Or *al* mentioned above may have been metamorphosed into *aṅ* as the case-suffixes *āṅ* and *iṅ* to *āl* and *il* respectively. cf. 3.213233 and 3.213234 *supra*.

*Kú, Ṭú, Tú, Rú*: Of these four *ṭú*, *tú* and *rú* belong not only to the first person singular, but also to the third person neuter. Wherever these are used, they are not preceded by the tense signs unlike the terminations *eṅ*, *ēṅ*, etc. Hence it seems to me that these forms may have come into existence by cutting off *ēṅ*, *āṅ*, *ār*, etc. from *uṅṭēṅ*, *lantēṅ*, *ceṅṭēṅ*, *uṅṭāṅ*, *lantāṅ*, *ceṅṭāṅ*, *uṅṭār*, *lantār*, *ceṅṭār*, etc. as in Malayālam, since the meaning of *ēṅ*, *āṅ*, and *ār* are expressed by their subjects *yāṅ* or *nāṅ*, *avaṅ* and *avar* respectively and may have been at some time

1. *Taṅmai-t-tuṅivā m-orumai-vaṅ-ṣaṅa...* (V. K. 10.)

2. *Kāruvaṅ eṅa varum aṅ-ṅ-irruṭ taṅmai-y-orumai-muṅṅu-c-collum etirkālam-ṣarivarum.* (I. V. 237, *Comu.*)

used in all the persons and numbers, but later on restricted to the first person singular and the third person neuter singular. Similarly the form *uṅkū* may have been evolved out of *uṅkēṅ* and may have been restricted to the first person singular.

Ḫampūraṅar thinks that the forms *uṅkū*, *uṅṅū*, *vantū* and *cēṅū* (Tol. Col. 203, Ḫam.) are used only in the future tense. Naṅṅulār says in Na. 145 that *ṅū* and *tū* denote the past and the future, *ṅū*, the past and *kū*, the future tense. Cēṅavaraiyar agrees with Ḫampūraṅar. Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar states with caution that all the four *mostly* denote the future tense. The author of Ḫakkaṅaviḷakkam agrees with Ḫampūraṅar. (I. V. 50.)

*Am*, *Ām*, *Em*, *Ēm*, *Ēṅkaḷ*, *Ōm*: Of these, the first four are generally used in all periods, while the fifth, which is evidently a double plural termination, in the medieval period and the last in the medieval and modern periods. *Ōm* may have sprung from *ām* by changing *ā* to *ō* through analogy with the formations *vantōṅ*, *vantōḷ*, *vantōr* and *vantōy*.

The following may serve as examples for most of the terminations mentioned above:—*uṅkuvam* (we will eat) (P. N. 136,26.); *ēttukam* (we will praise) (P. N. 161,32.); *kūruvām* (we will narrate) (Kampar. B. 26,1.); *uṅṅai-y-ēm* (we have) (P. N. 112,2); *uṅṅēṅkaḷ* (we ate) (C. C. 1795.); *tantōm* (we gave) *vēṅṅōm* (we do not pray for) (P. T. 195, 5).

These terminations are like *eṅ*, *ēṅ*, etc. preceded by the tense signs.

Ḫampūraṅar, Cēṅavaraiyar and Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar mention that *ām* and *ōm* are used when the subject denotes the speaker and the person spoken to, or the speaker, the person spoken to and a third person, and *em* and *ēm* when it denotes the speaker and a third party.<sup>1</sup> Naṅṅulār says the same, but adds *ōm* also to the latter list.<sup>2</sup> The author of Ḫakkaṅaviḷakkam agrees with

1. *Am ām eṅpaṅa muṅṅiṅṅārai uḷappaṅukkuṅm; tamar-āya-vaḷi paṅarkkai-y-ārai-y-um uḷappaṅukkuṅm. Em ēm eṅpaṅa paṅarkkaiyārai uḷappaṅukkuṅm.* (Tol. Col. 202, Cēṅā.)

2. *Am-ām eṅpaṅa muṅṅilai y-āraiṅum*  
*Em-ēm ōm-īvai paṅarkkai y-āraiṅum.* (Na. 332.)

Nannūlar.<sup>1</sup> The author of *Vīracōliyam* mentions only *ēm* and *ōm*. The following may serve as examples for the same :—

*Payil pūntañṭalai-p-ṭaṭarkuvam* (Cilap. 258,67.); here *ṭaṭarkuvam* means 'let her, you and me go'.

*Ēval ceytuṇaiivarēm yāṅka!* (Kampar. K. 175.14.); here *ēval-ceytuṇaiivarēm* means 'let me and others serve you'.

*Varikku-k-kūṟu ceyvārkaḷukkum conṇōm* (S. I. I. iii, i, 44-5); here *conṇōm* does not include the person spoken to.

In colloquial speech of the modern days, only the terminations *ōm* and *ēṅga* or *ēṅgō*, the modified forms of *ēṅka!* are used. *Ēṅga* or *ēṅgō* are used only by uneducated people. M. J. Vinson mentions only the latter form. (J. A. Dixie Serie Tome 17, p. 189.)

*Kum, Ṭum, Tuṇ, Ṭum*: Whatever is said of *kū, ṭū, tū*, and *ṟū* applies to these four. Evidently, these are formed from *kū, ṭū, tū* and *ṟū* by the addition of the pluralising particle *m*; (e.g.) *kāraṇaṅ kūrutum* (we shall state the reasons) (T. 3.3).

*I, ai, āy, ōy*: Of these terminations, *i* and *ai* are more frequently used in the ancient period, while *āy* in the later periods; the form *ōy* is generally used in literature. In colloquial speech only the termination *āy* is now frequently used. (e.g.) *varaiti* (you classify) (P. N. 8,8): *varuti* (you come) (P.N. 8.8.): *ṭaṭiyiṇai* (you made them rest) (P.N. 15.10.): *eri ūṭṭiṇai* (you set fire) (P.N. 16,17.): *ollāy* (you will not desire) (P. N. 31.6.): *ūtāy* (you will blow) (P.T. 160,6 to 10.): *koṭuttōy* (you gave) (P.N. 2,16). [The author of *Vīracōliyam* mentions only *āy*.]

*Ir, īr, īrka!*: *Ir* and *īr* are generally used in the literature of all periods. In the medieval and modern periods, the double plural terminations began to be used. (e. g.) *celkuvīr* (you will go) (Cilap. 295,91.): *ṭaṭarīr* (you traverse) (Cilap. 295,87.): *vanṭīrka!* (you have come) (*colloq.*): *īr* is practically extinct.

1. . . . .

Am-m-ā mīṟṟa muṇṇilai y-āraiyaṇ

Em-m-ē m-ōm-ivai ṭaṭarkkai y-āraiyaṇ. . . . (I. V. 237.)

[The author of *Viracōliyam* mentions only *ir* and *irkaḷ*.] In the colloquial speech at the present day, *ir* is used in the honorific singular alone and *irkaḷ*, *iṅga* and *iṅgō* are used in honorific singular and plural. The forms *iṅga* and *iṅgō* are used only by uneducated people. They are evidently the modified forms of *irkaḷ*. The substitution of *ṅ* for *r* may be due to the principle of economy of effort, since it is easier to pronounce *ṅ* before *g* than *r*; or it may be through analogy with *ṅ* in *vantēṅga* or *vantēṅgō*. The latter form is mentioned by M. J. Vinson. (J. A. Dixieme Series, Tome 17, p. 189.)

*Aṅ, āṅ, oṅ*: *Aṅ* is generally preceded by the *cāriyai aṅ* as *aṭṭaṅaṅ* (he killed) (P.N. 78,12). But it is used by itself after the roots (*uḷ, il, etc.*) (e.g.) *uḷaṅ* (he is) (P.N. 86,3). *Oṅ* is used only in literature. (e.g.) *uṟantaiyoṅē* (he belongs to *uṟantai*) (P.N. 68,18.) [The author of *Viracōliyam* mentions only *āṅ*. (V.K. 3,4, etc.)] but the later grammarians follow *Tolkāppiyaṅār*. In colloquial Tamil only *āṅ* is used.

*Aḷ, āḷ, oḷ*: Whatever has been said about *aṅ, āṅ* and *oṅ* holds good for *aḷ, āḷ*, and *oḷ*. (e.g.) *alutanaḷ* (she bewailed) (P. N. 143.15). [The author of *Viracōliyam* mentions only *āḷ*] but the later grammarians follow *Tolkāppiyaṅār*.

*Ar, ār, or, pa, mār, ārkaḷ*: The first five are used in all periods, while the last is found only in the medieval and modern periods. *Or* is used only in literature. *Ārkaḷ* is evidently a double plural termination. As regards *mār*, I quite agree with M. J. Vinson that it is also a case of double plural termination. (J. A. Dixieme Serie Tome, 17, p. 189.) Verbal forms with *ārkaḷ* are very frequently used in *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyirappirapantam*. (e.g.) *pukaḷvārkaḷ* (they will praise) (T. 32,9). Hence it seems to be that the author of *Viracōliyam* has mentioned *ārkaḷ* side by side with *ār*. But it is difficult to understand why he has not mentioned the terminations *ar, or, pa* and *mār*. The other grammarians have followed *Tolkāppiyaṅār*. In the colloquial speech of the present day, the termination *ār* is used in honorific singular and *ārkaḷ* both in honorific singular and plural. Uneducated

people use *āṅga* and *āṅgō*, the modified forms of *ārkaḷ*. They may have had the same origin as *īṅga* or *īṅgō*.

*Tū*, *ṛū*: Nannūlar states that *tū* and *ṛū* denote the past and the future tense.<sup>1</sup> Cēṅāvaraiyar's opinion is that *tū* is used after the sign of all the three tenses, and *ṛū* after that of the past.<sup>2</sup> Nacciṅārkkīyiar agrees with the latter.<sup>3</sup> [*Tū* is not included here since Cēṅāvaraiyar and Nacciṅārkkīyiar think that it is used only in the appellative verbs.]

*A*, *ā*, *va*: Whenever *a* is used, it is generally preceded by the *cāriyai aṅ*. (e. g.) *paraintaṅa* (they have been scraped) (P.N. 4.3); *maruṅṅū-p-pōṅṅaṅa* (they are like horns) (P.N. 4.4); but there are examples where it is used without it. (e. g.) *tōṅṅuva* (they will appear) (P. N. 4.5). *Ā* is used in the negative sense. Tolkāppiyāṅār himself has used it so. (e.g.) *uyirmey allaṅa molīṅṅuta l-ākā* (Tol. E. 60); but he has not expressly stated in any of his sūtras that it has negative sense. Nannūlar, seems to be the first grammarian to mention it,<sup>4</sup> and the author of *Ilakkaṅaviḷakkam* follows him.<sup>5</sup>

[The author of *Viṛacōliyam* mentions *aṅa* which evidently shows that he takes the termination and the *cāriyai aṅ* together as termination. He does not mention *ā* or *va*.]

A NOTE ON *KAL* in *Eṅkal*, *Irkal*, *Ārkal*: According to Tolkāppiyāṅār, *kaḷ* is optionally used as the pluralising

1. Ra-v-v-o ṭu-kara v-ummai-nikaḷ p-allavum  
Ta-v-v-o ṭ-iṅṅappu m-etirvum. . . (Na. 145.)
2. Takara-v-ukaram mūṅṅu-kālattiṅṅum urittū;  
Rakara-v-ukaram iṅṅanta-kālattiṅṅu urittū.  
(Tol. Col. 217, Cēṅā.)
3. *Ibid.* (Tol. Col. 217, Nac.)
4. *Āā iṅṅa palaviṅṅ paṅṅarkkai*  
*Ā-v-ē etir-maṅṅai-k kaṅṅa tākum.* (Na. 329.)
5. *Ṭuṅṅu-tu-k kuṅṅiyo luṅṅa v-iṅṅa*  
*Onṅṅaṅ paṅṅarkkaiyūm a-ā v-iṅṅa*  
*Ā-v-ī i-etir-maṅṅai-k k-ākalu m-uriya.* (T. V. 234.)

particle of *asṛiṇai* nouns. Its use may have subsequently been extended to *uyartiṇai* nouns also. (e.g.) *maṇṭarkaḷ* (men). In such cases it is added mostly to plural forms, thus making them double plurals. Verbal forms like *pōṇār* may be used as nouns also in Tamil in the sense of persons who went, and declined as *pōṇārai*, *pōṇāroḷū*, etc. To the latter type of forms like *pōṇār*, *kaḷ* may have been added and thus forms like *pōṇārkaḷ* may come into being, in the sense of persons who went. (e.g.) *col-mālai colluvārkaḷ...neṣuṅkālam vālvārē* (those who compose songs will live for a long time) (P. T. 135. 10); here *colluvārkaḷ* means those who will say. Such forms were, perhaps, through confusion, treated as verbs. From such instances, *kaḷ* should have become generalised as a pluralising particle in verbs also. Thus *pōṇārkaḷ*, *pōṇīrkaḷ*, etc. are cases of double plurals. Double plurals of this kind are found frequently used in Tēvāram and Nālayirappirapantam, the literature written between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D. But in the later literature they are not so frequent.

Here it would be very useful to bear in mind that ancient Canarese *gaḷ* and modern Canarese *gaḷu* which correspond to Tamil *kaḷ* are not used in Canarese verbs and that likewise Telugu *lu* (= Tamil *kaḷ*) is not used in Telugu verbs.<sup>1</sup> It would not be difficult to infer from this that the use of *kaḷ* as a pluralizing particle of verbs should have been developed as a special feature of Tamil during the course of its separate development, and that, prior to its separation from Telugu and Canarese, during what might be called the primitive Dravidian period, *kaḷ* did not find any place in the *formation of verbs*. It would also be interesting to observe that Canarese *gaḷ* or *gaḷu* and Telugu *lu* which correspond to Tamil *kaḷ* are occasionally used as the plural suffix in Canarese and Telugu, of rational nouns and pronouns<sup>2</sup> corresponding to *uyartiṇai* nouns and pronouns in Tamil, and that, in Cilappatikāram for the first time, the form *yāṅkaḷ* occurs with *kaḷ* in *uyartiṇai*, though no verbal form with *kaḷ* is found there.

1. C. D. G. pp. 555 to 563.

2. *Ibid.* 224.



Such *verbal forms* with *kaḷ* are found for the first time in the works of the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries A. D. like Tēvāram, and Nālāyirappirapantam. This induces me to suggest that Canarese, Telugu and Tamil may have been separated from one another between the age of Cilappatikāram (5th cent. A.D. circa.) and the age of Tēvāram and Nālāyirappirapantam (6th to 8th cent. A.D.).

*IMITATION OF PĀṆINI BY THE AUTHORS OF VĪRACŪLIYAM AND PIRAYŌKAVIVĒKAM:* The author of *Vīracūliyam* does not mention the verbal terminations separately but mentions them along with tense elements as *tāṇ*, *tāl*, *niṇṇāṇ*, *kiṇṇāṇ*, *kiṇṇāy*, *kiṇṇāṇ*, etc. He has done so, perhaps because he thought that they should correspond to *ti*, *si*, *mi*, etc. the terminations in Sanskrit, which generally denote both tense and person.

The author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* has gone too far in importing unnecessarily the terms *ātmanēṣada* and *parasmaiṣada* and explaining them with reference to the Tamil terminations. He states that *paraṣṣaiṣalam* (*parasmaiṣada*) is used at the end of finite verbs in *kartari* or active voice, the *taṇ* or *āṣṣaiṣalam* (*ātmanēṣada*) is used in *kartari* or active voice, *karmani* or passive voice or *bhāvē* or impersonal form. According to him *paraṣṣaiṣalam* is the termination which ends in a short vowel or has a penultimate short vowel. (e.g.) *kū*, *aṇ*, *aḷ*, *ar*, etc.; *āṣṣaiṣalam* is that which ends in a long vowel or has a penultimate long vowel. (e.g.) *mār*, *ai*, *āy*, etc. Both the above terminations are *āṣṣaiṣalam* when they are used in the passive voice. The roots which take both the above terminations are called *uṣayaṣati* (*ubhayāṣadi*). Thus the root *camai* (to cook) which has forms *camaiṣṣaiṣalam*, (he cooks) *camaiṣṣāṇ*, (he will cook) *camaiṣṣaiṣalam*, (he does not cook) *camaiṣṣaiṣalam*, (he cooks) *camaiṣṣāṇ*, (he will cook) *camaiṣṣāṇ* (he will not cook) is *uṣayaṣati*; the root *uṣ* with reference to the forms *uṣaiṣalam* *uṣmār*, *uṣaiṣalam* *uṣāy* is *ēkaṣati* in *āṣṣaiṣalam* and the same root with reference to the forms *uṣkū*, *uṣtū*, etc. is *ēkaṣati* in *paraṣṣaiṣalam*.

It is clear that this classification of terminations is quite against the nature of Tamil language and is done solely in imita-



tion of Sanskrit Grammar. Even here it may be noted that in Sanskrit, if a root takes *ātmanēpada* terminations, it takes them in all persons in its conjugation in one tense or mood. (e.g.) *karōmi*, *karōṣi* and *karōti* in the singular of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons present, respectively; but in Tamil, *uṇṭū*, the first person singular past tense, is *paraṅṅaiṅpatam*, *uṇṭāy*, the 2nd person singular in the same tense is *āṅṅanēṅpatam* and *uṇṭū*, the 3rd person neuter singular in the same tense is *paraṅṅaiṅpatam*. Besides, he says that the verbal form '*camaikkiṅṅaṅṅaṅ*' is used when one cooks for another and *camaikkiṅṅāṅ* is used when one cooks for himself. Nowhere else is it said so; nor do I see any example in literature in support of this distinction.

Besides, he mentions that the form '*cāṭṭaṅṅāl varaṅṅaiṅṅaṅ*' as an example for *bhāvēṅṅaṅṅaṅ*. This is exactly the translation of the Sanskrit sentence '*cāṭṭēna āṅṅamyatē*'. Such a sentence, though made up of Tamil words does not seem to me to be a Tamil sentence.<sup>1</sup> His importation of *bhāvēṅṅaṅṅaṅ* too is most inappropriate.

Another most curious point mentioned by him is that 'a' following 'ṅ' in the form *uṅṅaṅṅaiṅṅaṅ*, 'ā' following 'ṅ' in *uṅṅāṅṅaiṅṅaṅ*, 'u' following 'l' in *colluka*, 'ī' following 'ṅ' in *veṅṅiṅka*, *ta* in *pukutaka*, *lai* in *irintaikka*, *ku* in *aṅṅaikuvāṅ* are *conjugational signs*.<sup>2</sup> Is this not in direct imitation of Sanskrit?

By the way he mentions that he has imported the Sanskritic terms *tiṅ* and *taṅ* in Tamil to make up for the want of Tamil words ending in 'ṅ'.<sup>3</sup> By such importation he does more harm than good. The terms *tiṅ* and *taṅ* may be quite intelligible in Sanskrit grammar, but, in Tamil, they are not so, since the Tamil grammarians have not resorted to the devise of using *ṅ* as in Sanskrit.

1. P. V. 36 & its comm.
2. P. V. 41, comm.
3. P. V. 36, comm.

3.2222112. *TENSE AND TENSE-SIGNS*:—Tolkāppiyaṅār says that there are three tenses past, present and future.<sup>1</sup> He does not mention any suffix denoting tense. This fact is noticed by the commentators Cēṅāvaraiyar and Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar and they make mention of the same under the last sūtra of Collatikāram in Tolkāppiyam. But at the same time Tolkāppiyaṅār mentions that the past tense is used to denote either the present or the future when such actions take place immediately,<sup>2</sup> and that the past and the present tenses are used to denote the future for the sake of clearness.<sup>3</sup> If distinct tense formations were definitely current in Tolkāppiyaṅār's time, it would be difficult to account for his omission to deal with the distinctive signs for such formations. He mentions, however, three tenses and adds that one may be used for another under certain circumstances as stated above. It is impossible to see how he could speak of one tense form being used for another if it were true that in his days tense formations were not at all differentiated on the morphological side. I am inclined to suggest a solution for this difficulty. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that perhaps, Tolkāppiyaṅār was only thinking of different *tense-values* when he mentioned three tenses; that some of his contemporaries may have begun to associate particular *verbal forms* with particular tense values through the frequency of particular use; and that, with reference to such forms, Tolkāppiyaṅār was probably indicating the circumstances under which overlapping in tense values might be recognised.

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1. *Kālan tāmē māṅṅeṅa moḷipa.* (Tol. Col. 199.)  
*Iṅṅappi niḷaḷvi v-etiṅvi v-eṅṅā*  
*A-m-mu-k kalamuṅ kuṅṅiṅṅoṅuṅ koḷḷum*  
*Mey-n-nilai y-utaiya tōṅṅa l-aṅṅē* (ibid. 200.)
  2. *Vārā-k kālattu niḷaḷuṅ kālattum*  
*Or-āṅṅū varāum viṅai-c-coṅ kiḷavi*  
*Iṅṅanta kālattu-k kuṅṅiṅṅoṅu kiḷattal*  
*Virainta poruḷa v-eṅṅaṅṅar pulavar.* (ibid. 241.)
  3. *Vārā-k kālattu viṅai-c-coṅ kiḷavi*  
*Iṅṅappiṅṅu niḷaḷviṅṅuṅ ciṅṅappa-t tōṅṅum*  
*Iṅṅaṅṅai-y-un teḷiṅṅuṅ kiḷaṅṅuṅ kālai.* (ibid. 245.)

The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* states that *ta*, *ya* and *ya* are added to roots to form the past participle, *kiṛa*, *āniṇṇa* and *ca* to form the present participle and *kum*, *um*, *m*, to form the future participle.<sup>1</sup> Its commentator gives the following as examples under the same stanza for the past participles:—*piṛanta*, *pōṇa* and *āya*.

The author of *Naṇṇūl* seems to have analysed the above into *t* and *a*, *kiṛu* and *a*, etc. where *t*, *kiṛu*, etc. were taken as tense signs and *a*, the participial sign. According to him, *ṭ*, *ṭ*, *ṛ* and *iṇ* denote the past tense, *kiṛu*, *kiṇṇu* and *āniṇṇu* denote the present tense and *ṣa* and *va* denote the future, *ṛū* and *ṛum*, and *tū* and *tum* denote the past and the future, *ṭū* and *ṭum* denote the past, *kū* and *kum* denote the future, *i* and *mār* denote the future, *ṣa* the past and the future, *um* the present and the future<sup>2</sup>. Here it must be noted that the verbal terminations *kū*, *ṭū*, *tū*, *ṛu*, *kum*, *ṭum*, *tum*, *ṛum* are taken to denote not only the person and the number, but also the tense.

Since *t* becomes *ṭ* and *ṛ* respectively after *ḷ* and *ṇ*, and *l* and *ṇ*, *ṭ* and *ṛ* may be regarded as the modification of *t* itself; and hence it seems to me that it would have been sufficient if *Naṇṇūlār* had mentioned only *t* and *iṇ* as past tense signs.

1. *Tātu-v-iṇ-ṣiṣṣū ta-ya-ya-v-iṛappi ṇikaṣci-y-iṛ-kaṇ*  
*Otuṅ-kiṛa-cū-v-o ṭ-āniṇṇa-v-āi-kum-m-um m-ōṭu-*  
*ma :- kāṇ*  
*Pētamaliyu m-etirṇ-kaṇ-ākum piṛavum-vantāl*  
*Ētaṇ-ū-catiran tam-ṣḷaiyāma l-iyaṛri-k-kollē. (V Tāt. 7.)*
2. *Ta-ṣa-va-v-or ṛ-iṇ-ṛ-ē y-aim-ṣāl mū-v-iṭattū*  
*Iṛanta kālan tarun-toḷi l-iṭai-nilai. (Na. 142.)*  
*Āniṇṇū kiṇṇū kiṛ-mū v-iṭattiṇ*  
*Aim-ṣāl nikaḷ-poḷu t-aṛai-viṇai y-iṭai-nilai. (ibid. 143.)*  
*Pa-v-va mū-v-itat t-ai-m-ṣā l-etir-poḷutū*  
*Icāi-viṇai y-iṭai-nilai y-ām-ivai cila-v-ila. (ibid. 144.)*  
*Ra-v-v-o ṭukara v-ummai-nikaḷ ṣ-alla-vum*  
*Ta-v-v-o t-iṛappu m-etirvum ṣa-v-v-otū*  
*Kaḷivum ka-v-v-ō ṭ-etirvum-miṇ ṇ-ēval*  
*Viyānkō ḷ-i-m-mā r-etirvum pāntam*  
*Celavoṭū varavum ceyyu-nikaḷ ṣ-etirvum*  
*Etir-maṛai mummāi-yu m-ēṛku m-tūkē. (ibid. 145.)*

*ORIGIN OF THE TENSE SIGN 'IN':*—The tense sign 'in' comes after the roots ending in *u*. It seems to me that the final *u* of the roots was changed to *i* before *y*<sup>1</sup> so that the forms *aṭakkiya* (P. N. 6. 25.) were formed. The roots like *pō* took only *y* as the past tense sign so that the form *pōṇāy* was current. Later on the forms like *aṭakkiya* gave place to those like *aṭakkiya* so that 'in' began to be considered as the past tense sign. In the indeclinable participle *i* alone is added in such cases to represent the past tense as *aṭakki*, *uṇāṅki*, etc. Thus 'i' which was originally the modified form of *u* in sandhi may have come to be regarded as a part of the past tense sign.

Besides, there are a few roots in Tamil, as Dr. Caldwell says, which formed their past tense in the ancient period without the addition of any tense sign, but by the reduplication of the final consonant. (e.g.) *pukkavar* (they entered) (Cilap. 342, 196). But even in the ancient period such forms began generally to be superseded by the more regular forms formed by adding tense to roots. (e.g.) *pukuntu* (Cilap. 574, 14).

As regards the future tense, it seems to me that it may have been in its origin later than the past, for it is possible for the primitive people to remember some of their past deeds and express them to others before they begin to think of the future. This is clearly seen in the case of children. The only future that would have been possible then was that conveyed by the command which is expressed by the imperative second person.

The present tense may, in all probability, have been the last in the formation, since it is not quite necessary on the part of a speaker to express to another what is actually happening since he himself is witnessing it. The present tense forms in Tamil with the signs *kiṇṇu*, *āniṇṇu*, etc. are almost absent in the works of Sangam period. I was able to find out one form *cērkiṇṇa* in Paripāṭal (p. 163, 35). Such forms are very frequent only in the literature of the medieval period. (e.g.) *eṅkiṇṇāḷ* in each of 10 stanzas in Tēvāram, pp. 25 and 26; *eṅkiṇṇāḷāḷ* in Periyatirumōḷi

1. *Yakaram varu-vali y-ikaran kuṇukum*  
*Ukara-k kiḷavi tuvara-t tōṇṇātū.* (Tol. E. 411.)

of Nālāyirappirapantam, pp. 154 and 155; *collāniyṛa āṇṇū* (T. A. S. i, 14); *paṛṛāniyṛārai* (T. 1. 51).

The forms *uṅkiṛāṇ*, *uṅkiyṛāṇ*, *uṅṇāniyṛāṇ*, *uṅṇākiṭantāṇ*, *uṅṇāviruntāṇ* appear to me to have been two words which were, later on, mistaken for one; for the commentator on Viracōḷiyam says that the forms *niyṛāṇ*, *kiṭantāṇ*, *iruntāṇ*, etc., are derived from the roots *niḷ*, *kiṭa*, *iru*, etc. and are used as the personal terminations after roots in the present tense.<sup>1</sup> Cēṅāvaraiyar, a commentator on Tolkāppiyam repeats the same thing. Hence *uṅṇā* and *niyṛāṇ* were, at one time, two words of which *uṅṇā* was a participle (modified form of *uṅṇū*) and *niyṛāṇ* was the finite verb. This may be seen from the following two examples:—*iravā niyṛāṇ* (Kampar. A. 239. 38.); *tēṛṛā niyṛāṇ* (Kampar. A. 249. 52.) where *iravā* and *tēṛṛā* are affirmative indeclinable participles. Later on *niḷ* of *niyṛāṇ* in *uṅṇāniyṛāṇ* began to be taken as an auxiliary verb. *Uṅṇāniyṛāṇ* should have originally meant 'he is eating', the past tense *niyṛāṇ* being used to denote the immediateness of the action. The above explanation holds good for the forms *uṅṇāniyṛāṇ*, *uṅṇākiṭantāṇ* and *uṅṇāviruntāṇ*. But what should have been the origin of *uṅkiṛāṇ* and *uṅkiyṛāṇ*? The form *uṅkiṛēṇ* which is very often used in colloquial speech is said to be the later form by Nacciṅārkkīṇiyar<sup>2</sup> and it is not generally found in Tamil classics up to 12th century. Hence it may be considered to have been the modified form of *uṅkiyṛāṇ*. The form *ākiyṛū* as the finite verb is found in the following lines of Puṇānāṇṇūṛi:—

*Peṅṇuruvu oru-tiṛāṇ ākiyṛū* (the form of a woman is on one side). (P.N. 1.7.)

*Pirai-ṇatal vaṅṅam-ā kiyṛū* (crescent forms a source of beauty to the forehead). (P.N. 1.9.)

1. *Niḷ eyyun tātuviniyṛū iṛanta-kāla-p-paṭarkkaiyil niyṛāṇ mutaliya pīrattiyayonkaḷ nikaḷ-kāla-p-poruḷil varum.* (V. K. 4, comm.)

2. *Uṅkiṛēṇ-eṇa-k kiṛu eṅpatū nikaḷkālam uṅarttutal i-k-kāla-vaḷakkū.* (Tol. Col. 202, Nac.)

This may have been formed from *ā* (root) + *ku* (cāriyai) + *iṅ* (cāriyai) + *ṛú* (the neuter sign termination). Could *ākiṅṛāṅ* have been formed by adding *āṅ* to *ākiṅṛú* mistaking it to be the indeclinable participle? Or as Dr. Graul, Dr. Gundert and M. J. Vinson opine, *kiṅṛú* may have been formed from *k* a sign of the future in Tamil and *iṅṛú* meaning now.<sup>1</sup>

The author of *Naṅṅūl* plainly says that *kiṅṛú* and *kiṅṛú* and *āniṅṛú* are the present tense signs, though *k* of *kiṅṛú* and *kiṅṛú* in forms like *uṅkiṅṛāṅ* and *uṅkiṅṛāṅ* is the final element of the previous word, like *uṅkū*, and *iṅ* is the initial element of the following word, and *ā* of *āniṅṛú* in the form like *uṅāniṅṛāṅ* is the final element of the affirmative indeclinable participles like *uṅā*, and *niṅṛú* is the initial element of *niṅṛāṅ*.

In modern times, the past perfect, the present perfect and the future perfect are used with a past participle and the finite verbal form in the past, present and future of the root *iru*. e. g. *ceytú iruntāṅ* (he had done), *ceytirukkiṅṛāṅ* (he has done), *ceytú iruṅṅāṅ* (he would have done). Similarly, the forms of the past perfect continuous, the present perfect continuous and the future perfect continuous are also found. e.g. *ceytukonṅṅiruntāṅ*, *ceytukonṅṅirukkiṅṛāṅ*, *ceytukonṅṅirupṅāṅ*.

The past and the future tenses may respectively correspond to the aorist and the second future in Sanskrit. The causal verbs also are used in all the three tenses in the same way as simple verbs. The latter is formed by adding to the root, the tense sign and the personal termination, while the former by adding to the root, the causal suffix *vi* or *pi*, the tense sign and the personal terminations or by adding the tense sign and the personal terminations to the causal form of the root as *ākkú*, *tiruttú*, etc.

3.222212. ACTIVE NEGATIVE VOICE: *Tolkāppiyaṅār* has hinted about the active negative voice in his statement that case-suffixes will be used even after nouns qualifying a

1. C. D. G. 494 and J. A. Onzieme Serie Tome XIII, p. 116.



negative verb,<sup>1</sup> and also has mentioned the term *etirmaṣai* in the sūtra

*Ecca v-ummai-y-u m-etirmaṣai y-ummai-y-um*  
*Tattam-uṅ mayāṅku m-uṭaṅḷai y-ilavē.*

(Tol. Col. 283.)

From the literature of the Sangam and medieval periods we may infer that the negation was expressed in six ways:—

(1) By inserting the negative particle *al* between the root and the personal termination.

(e. g.) *cel-l-al-am* (we will not go). (P.N. 101.1.)

*aṟi-y-al-aṅ* (he does not know). (P.N. 239.9.)

(2) By inserting the negative particle *al* or *il* between the tense sign and the personal termination.

(e. g.) *ciṟantaṅṟū* (it is not desirable). (P.N. 75.5.)

*urai-t-t-il-aṅ* (he did not say). (P.T. 205.12.)

*kaṅ-ṭ-il-ēṅ* (I have not seen). (P.T. 202.2.)

(3) By inserting *al* followed by the personal terminations after the affirmative finite forms of verbs.

(e.g.) *muyāṅkiṅṟēṅ-allēṅ* (I was not befooled). (P.N. 19.7.)

*celvēm allēm* (we will not go). (P.N. 36.11.)

*ollāṅ allāṅ* (he will not agree). (P.N. 97.21.)

*ṟeruvār-alar* (they will not receive). (P.T. 200.5.)

(4) By inserting the vowel *ā* between the root and the tense sign. (This is seen clearly in the third person neuter singular.)

(e.g.) *ākātū* (it will not become). (Tol. E. 71.)

*mutalātū* (it will not commence). (Tol. E. 65.)

*ṟēṅātū* (it will not agree). (T. 2.6.)

(5) By adding the personal terminations directly to the root.

(e.g.) *kāṅṟēṅ* (I will not see). (P.N. 71.5.)

*ollāy* (you will not agree). (P.N. 31.6.)

1. *Etir-maruttu molī-y-iṅ-un tatta maraṟiṟ*

*Poruṅḷai tiriya vēṟṟumai-c collē.* (Tol. col. 107.)



*ollāy* (he will not agree). (P.N. 78.9.)

*vaiyārkaḷē* (They will not despise). (P.T. 204.10.)

(6) By lengthening the *a* of roots like *var*<sup>1</sup> and adding the personal terminations.

(e.g.) *vārēm* (we will not come). (P.N. 145.4.)

The author of *Viracōliyam* states that *āy, āḷ, ār, ārkaḷ, ātū, ā, ilay, ilaḷ, ilar, ilarkaḷ, ilatū, ila* and others like *atōḷi* are added after roots to denote *taṭai-p-poruḷ* or negative meaning.<sup>2</sup> Its commentator adds that the verbs having the first six terminations denote the future tense, and the verbs having the next six denote the past tense when they (*ilay*, etc.) are preceded by *t*, as in *naṭantilay*, and the present tense when they are preceded by *k*, as in *naṭakkilay*. But I am at a loss to know why he did not add the first and the second personal terminations along with the first six and *alēy, alci, alay, alar*, etc. along with the next six.

The authors of *Nannūḷ* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* have stated about the negative voice only with respect to *ā*, the termination of the neuter plural. It is the Rev. C. J. Beschi who has definitely stated that in *marai-vinai* personal terminations are *directly* added to roots without any tense sign between them and that *ātū* is the termination that is added to the root in the third person neuter singular.

At present we have certain forms of verbs which are common both to affirmative and negative voices, *ceyyāy* and *ceyyār*, the second person singular and plural forms respectively. The indeclinable participles *ceyyā*, *uṇṇā* also come under that category.

1. It seems to me that the root in *varukiṇṇāy* and *varuvāy* was originally *var*, though in modern times *vā* is taken to be the root. cf. Tel. *vā* (come.)

2. *Ān-āḷ-ār-ārkaḷ-oṭ-ātu-ā-v-ilay-mar-ilaḷ-ilar-um*  
*Tān-ām-ilarka-ḷ-ilatū-ila-tātū-t taṭai-p-poruḷ-kaṇ*  
*Mēṇām-uraitta marapē-varumikka v-ātōḷi-muy*  
*Nānāvulaṃarū narraṭai-maṇṇum pīrattiyamē.*

(V. Tat. 11.)

The author of *Ilakkaṇakkottū* gives the following examples to illustrate the identity of *vili* or affirmative form and *maṟai* or negative form. (e.g.) *vallār tirai koṭuṅṅar* (the weak will pay tribute), *vallār tirai koṭvar* (the strong will take tribute), *aruḷāṅ* (one who has the favour or one who has not the favour), *vekuḷāṅ* (one who is irritable or one who is not irritable).<sup>1</sup> C. J. Beschi says *uḍvāṅ* is common to both (It means, he won't suffer or he will suffer). Similarly one of the commentators on *Naṅṅūl* says that *cāvāṅ* means, either he will die or he won't die.

These examples show that the fact whether they denote negation or assertion is ascertained either from the context or perhaps from the difference in the position of the accent. As regards the words like *cēyyāy* and *cēyyīr*, they seem to have had the accent on the first syllable if they denoted assertion and on *ā* or *i* if they denoted negation. Originally, they may have been respectively imperative second person singular and plural. The same may have been pronounced with such a tone as to convey interrogative sense as is done even now. From such interrogative uses, the negative meanings of such forms may have been developed.

*WHAT IS THE ORIGIN OF 'Ā' OF ĀTU IN MUTALĀTU? VĀRĀTŪ, Etc.* *Ā* is said by *Tolkāppiyaṅār* to be one of the terminations added to verbal themes to denote neuter plural, and it is not stated there that it denotes neuter plural only in the negative voice; but he uses such verbs as *ākā* in *Tol. E. 60*, *navilā* in *Tol. E. 74*, *mikā* in *Tol. E. 263* only with a negative meaning. The author of *Naṅṅūl* has definitely stated that *ā* is used to denote neuter plurals only in the negative voice.<sup>2</sup> Hence I think that *ā* began to be considered in the earliest times as the particle of negation in neuter plural. Afterwards, forms

1. *Vallār tirai-koṭvar, vallār tirai-koṭuṅṅar; . . . aruḷāṅ vekuḷāṅ ivai col-l-oṅṅē viti-viṅaiyum maṟai-viṅai-y-um-āyina.* (I K. p. 39.)

2. *Āv-ē etir-maṟai-k kaṅṅa tākum.* (Na. 329.)

like *tiriyatū*<sup>1</sup>, *mutalātū*<sup>2</sup> which are found in Tolkāppiyam may have been formed by adding the neuter singular termination *tū* to the theme formed by the root with the negative particle *ā* suffixed to it. Then this particle *ā* may have been used in verbal nouns like *ceyyāmai* and then it may have given room to the idea that it (*ā*) existed even in the form *ceyyāy*.<sup>3</sup>

If so, how are we to account for the participial form *ceyyā* in *ceyyāniṅṅāṅ* which denotes affirmation. Tolkāppiyaṅār has not mentioned it. Cēṅāvaraiyar says that *ceyyū* was changed to *ceyyā*. Hence *ā* of the verbal participle *ceyyā* in *ceyyāniṅṅāṅ* is not a negative particle. Later on, *ceyyā* may have been used as a negative participle also.

3.222213. *PASSIVE AFFIRMATIVE VOICE*: Tolkāppiyaṅār has not stated anything about the passive affirmative voice or *viti-c-ceyappāṭṭuvinaṅai* as is called by the author of Ilakkaṅakkottū. But in connection with the third case-he (Tolkāppiyaṅār) states that the third case-suffix is used to denote the *karlā* or the doer of the action also. This is possible only if passive voice was current in his time. Besides he uses the expression *ēṅa-p-paṭuṅa* in Tol. E. 1. But passive forms are rare in the literature of the ancient period. (e.g.) *kaiṭṭappāṭṭāy ni* (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 548. 15). In the literature and inscriptions of the medieval period, verbs in passive voice are frequently used.

(e.g.) *ceyyappāṭṭadu* (it was done). (Ep. I. Vol. XVII, Part VII. V. G. p. 330, line 30 & 31.)

*iṅṅakkaṭṭadu* (it was taken down). (*Ibid.* line 112.)

*ēṅṅappāṭṭadu* (it was said so). (*Ibid.* line 110.)

*kuṭṭukkappāṭṭadu* (it was given). (I.A. Vol. 22, p. 71 M. M.P.) (for *kuṭṭukkappāṭṭadū*.)

*iṅṅiṭṭapperukuvātūkavum* (so that it may be despised). (S. I. I. ii, 509.)

*kaṭṭappāṭṭū* (having been built). (T. 20, 6.)

1. *Yā-v-eṅ viṅā-v-u m-ā-y-iyā riṅiyatū*. (Vol. E. 176.)

2. *Ā-v-ō ṭallatū yakara mutalātū*. (*ibid.* 65.)

3. *Etir-marai-k-kaṅ marai-y-uṅarttum*

*iṅṅai-nilai-y-u m-uṅmaiṅṅ*. (Vol. Col. 450, Cēṅā.)

On the basis of these later passive formations, the author of *Viracōliyam* has stated that in the *karmakāra* or passive voice, the root *paṭu*, or some other one is added to the original root followed by 'a' and then the personal terminations are added.<sup>1</sup> Its commentator mentions *taku* in addition to *paṭu*. From the fifth example mentioned above, the root *peṟu* also may be added to the list.

The author of *Naṅṅūl* has not mentioned anything about it. The author of *Pirayōkavivēkam* mentions it in the commentary on P. V. 36. The author of *Ilakkaṇakkottū* agrees with the author of *Viracōliyam* and adds that the active form itself may be used for the passive.<sup>2</sup> Examples for the latter are found in the Sangam works.

*vaḷaii* (for *vaḷaikkaṭṭaṭṭu*) (having been surrounded).  
(P.N. 18, 1.)

*taḷi* (for *taḷuvaṭṭaṭṭu*) (having been adhered to). (Pattu.  
224. 301.)

It seems to me that, before the time of *Viracōliyam* and even for some time after him, the expressions *aṟiyaṭṭaṭṭān*, *aṟiyatta-kuvay* may have been viewed as made up of two words *aṟiya* and *ṭaṭṭān* and *aṟiya* and *takuvay*. This is perhaps the reason why *Naṅṅūlār* has not mentioned it. Besides, passive voice is also formed, as Dr. Caldwell says, 'by means of the preterite verbal participle of any neuter active verb followed by the preterite third person singular neuter of the verbs to become, to be, to go, or occasionally to end.'<sup>3</sup> (e.g.) *atu muṭintatū*, (it was finished); *atu muṭintāyirṟū* (it was finished). Sometimes, expressions like *aṭi unṭān* for *aṭikkappaṭṭān* also are used. I quite agree with Dr.

1. *Viṇai-k-kuṟippōṭū karumam-ṭaṭarkkaiyṅ mikka-v-oyṟai*  
*Ayaitteṅṅalām-a-v voṭu-ṭaṭu-t-tātu-piṅṅ-ām-iyarkai*  
*Taṅai-k-karumam-perun tātu-k-kaṅ-maṟṟum ṭaṭu-viṇai-*  
*pōl*  
*Niṅaiikka-varu-maṟ ṟ-ivaiyum-ṭeyarcco nikarttiṭumē.* (V.  
K. 11.)
2. I. K. p. p. 44 and 45.
3. C. D. G. 464.

Caldwell that in colloquial Tamil 'the root *paṭu* is sometimes added even to intransitive roots and sometimes to denote, other than passive signification<sup>1</sup> (e.g.) *nāṅ nappāy cāppīṭappāṭṭavan* does not mean 'I have been well-eaten, but I am accustomed to eat well!'

But on the whole, the genius of the Tamil language is to avoid the passive voice as far as possible. This is one of the important points where Tamil differs from Sanskrit.

3.222214. *PASSIVE NEGATIVE VOICE*. The passive negative voice is formed in the same way as the passive affirmative voice, except that the particles of negation are added here to the roots followed by such auxiliary verbs as *paṭu*. Hence the following forms may be had :

- ciṟakkappaṭṭatanṟū* (it is not considered advisable).  
*kāṅappaṭṭilatu* (it was not found).  
*uraikkappaṭṭinṟū* (it was not said).  
*kāṅappaṭṭēṅ* (I will not be found).  
*kāṅappaṭṭāṅ* (he will not be found).  
*kāṅappaṭṭātu* (it will not be found).  
*kāṅappaṭṭēṅ-allēṅ* (I will not be found).

Such a use of negative voice is not at all found in Sanskrit and is a peculiar development in Tamil language.

3.222222. *IMPERATIVE MOOD* : 3.2222221. *AFFIRMATIVE VOICE* : Tolkāppiyaṅār mentions that the form *ceyyāy* of the second person singular is sometimes used as *cey*<sup>2</sup> and in such cases *i* or *ē* preceded by a suitable consonant is added after it,<sup>3</sup> as *ceṅṟi* (from the root *cel*) and *niṅṟē* (from the root *nil*). This evidently holds good in the affirmative voice. He has not definitely stated the exact forms that should be used in the imperative mood. But from the literature of the Sangam period we

1. *Ibid.* 468.
2. *Ceyyā y-eṅṟu muṅṅilai viṅai-c-coṟ*  
*Cey-y-eṅ kiḷavi y-ākiṭa ṅ-uṭaitṭē.* (Tol. Col. 450.)
3. *Muṅṅilai muṅṅa r i-y-u m-ē-y-um*  
*Aṅṅilai maraṭṭiṅ mey-y-ārntu varumē.* (ibid. 451).

are able to understand that the forms *ceyyāy*, *cey*, *ceyyi*, *ceyyī* and *ceyyai* were used as second person singular and *ceyyīr* and *ceymiṅ* as second person plural in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood.

- (e.g.) *aṟiyāy* (know). (A.N. 268. 1.)  
*kēḷ* (listen). (Pattu. 131. 38.)  
*ceḷ* (go). (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 477. 32.)  
*varaiti* (allot). (P.N. 8. 7.)  
*ceyyī* (go). (Ka. T. Vol. 542. 15.)  
*kaṇḷi* (find). (*Ibid.* 542, 8.)  
*kēḷḷai* (listen). (*Ibid.* 546. 23.)  
*kāṇīr* (see). (Cīlap. 209. 12. & 265. 226.)  
*cēymiṅ* (reach). (P.N. 9. 5.)

In the literature of the medieval period, the form *ceymiṅkaḷ* formed by adding *kaḷ* to the plural form *ceymiṅ* is frequently used. (e.g.) *toḷumiṅkaḷ* (T. 32. 9.) *cēymiṅkaḷē* (P.T. 58, 1).

The author of *Vīracōḷiyam* mentions that the root form like *cey* is used as the second person singular, the forms like *ceyyum*, *ceymiṅ* and *ceyyāmē* as honorific singular and the forms like *ceyyuṅkaḷ* and *ceymiṅkaḷ* as the second person plural in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the form *ceyyum* it was used at the time of *Tolkāppiyaṅār* only as the third person singular and third person neuter plural in the indicative mood<sup>2</sup>. If that is so, we have to explain how the same form began to be used in honorific singular of the second person imperative mood at the time of *Vīracōḷiyam*. It seems to me that the latter form is not the same *ceyyum* but is

1. *Ōṅkāta-muṅṅilai-p pāl-ēval-āṅkā l-orumaiy-iṟ-cu-p*  
*Pāṅkā-r-ciṟappilā mēyu-miṅ-ka-p-paṅmai y-ām-iḷattū*  
*Niṅkāta-miṅkaḷuṅ kaḷḷām-icai-v-iṅ-iṟ ka-v-v-eṅpatān*  
*Tāṅkā-p-pārōkka-t tiṅiṟ-pōlumām-eṅpar taḷ-kuḷalē.*  
(V. K. 9.)
2. *Pallōr paṟarkkai muṅṅilai taṅmai*  
*A-v-vaiṅ mēṅru niḷaḷuṅ kālattu-c*  
*Ceyyu m-eṅṅuṅ kiḷavi-y-oṭū koḷḷā.* (Tol. Col. 227.)

the corrupted form of *ceymiṅ* or *ceymē* through the intermediate stage *ceyūm*. Still the old form *ceyyūm* was used in the Tolkāppiyān sense by *Kamṣar—maḷai-k-kunṟamaṅaiyāṅ varum* (Kamṣar. A. 214. 2.), *kaiyai-k-kaiyiṅerikkum* (Kamṣar. A. 220. 11). In the colloquial speech of modern days *ceyyūm* is used only in the honorific singular. The form *ceyyāṁē* may have been originally used in the sense 'let us go' where 'us' refers to the person spoken to and the speaker and then was used as the second person honorific singular. But this form seems to be extinct now.

Naṅṅūlar follows the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* as regards the singular<sup>1</sup> but mentions the termination *miṅ* alone as regards the plural.<sup>2</sup>

At the present day the forms that are used in the affirmative voice of the imperative mood, in colloquial speech, are the same as those mentioned by the author of *Vīracōḷiyam* except the form *ceyyāṁē*.

It seems to me that the form *ceyya vēṅṟum* has also been used in the imperative mood since the time of Tolkāppiyāṅār.<sup>3</sup> This form appears to be a kind of periphrastic formation made up of the gerundial form of a root followed by *vēṅṟum*—the future form of the root *vēṅṟu* primarily signifying request. Perhaps this periphrastic formation was devised to supply the gap in the first and third persons in the imperative system.

3.2222222. *NEGATIVE VOICE* : Tolkāppiyāṅār has not definitely stated any form to represent the negative voice in the

1. *Naṟa-vā maṟi-ci viṟu-kū vē-vai*  
*No-p-pō vau-v-uri ũ-uṅ-porun tirun-tiṅ*  
*Tēy-pār cel-vav vāḷ-kē ḷ-a ∴ keṅṟū*  
*Eṟtiya v-irupāṅ māṅṟē m-irravum*  
*Cey-y-e ṅ-ēval viṅai-p-pakā-p patamē. (Na. 137.)*
2. *Ir-ir irṟa iranṟu m-iru-tiṅai-p*  
*Paṅmai muṅṅilai miṅ-avaṟ ṟēval. (Na. 337.)*
3. *Itu-ceyal vēṅṟu m-ēṅṅūṅ kilavi*  
*Iru-vayi ṅilaiyum poruṟ-ṟ-ā kum-mē*  
*Taṅṟā ḷ-āṅṅum piṟaṅ-pā ḷ-āṅṅum. (Tol. Col. 243.)*



imperative mood, though he has used the two words *aḷiyal* and *añcal* in the second person singular, imperative negative voice in Tol. Poruḷ. 146. But from the literature of the different periods we may say that the following forms *ceyyal*, *ceyyāy*, *ceyyāḷi*, *ceyyēl* were used in the singular and *ceyyīr* in the plural. (e.g.)

*peyaral* (do not change). (P. N. 3. 14.)

*ēkaḷ* (do not go). (Kampar. A. 225. 19.)

*nīkkōy* (do not go away). (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 470. 21.)

*nillāṭi* (do not stand). (*Ibid.* 468. 21.)

*uḷ aḷiyēl* (do not feel sorry). (Kampar. A. 225. 18.)

*ayarēl* (do not feel sorry). (Kampar. A. 239. 38.)

*ayarīr* (Plural). (Kampar. A. 275. 87.)

Besides it seems the form *ceyyavēṇṭā* was used both in the singular and the plural. (e.g.) *nī varuntavēṇṭā* (P. N. 101. 10).

In modern times the forms that are used in colloquial speech are *ceyyāy* or *ceyyāṭē* in the singular, *ceyyāṭēyum* in the honorific singular and *ceyyāṭīr* or *ceyyāṭēyūṅkaḷ* in the plural.

It appears that, at the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār and the author of Vīracōḷiyam, the imperative mood expressed not only command but also request, wish, etc. more or less in the same way as the imperative in Sanskrit. This is clearly seen from the statements of Tolkāppiyāṇār<sup>1</sup> and the author of Vīracōḷiyam<sup>2</sup> that the optative mood is used only in the third person singular and plural. But at the time of Naṅṅūlar, it seems to me that the imperative began to be restricted only to denote command and the optative began to be used to denote wish, request, etc. since he says that the optative forms like *celka*, *celliya* and *celliyar* could be used in both singular and plural of all persons.

1. *Avarruḷ*

*Muṅṅilai taṅmai y-ā-y-ī-r iṭattoḷū*

*Maṅṅā t-ākum viyāṅkōḷi kiḷavi.* (Tol. Col. 226.)

2. *Oṅkāta-muṅṅilai-p-pāl-ēval-āṅkā l-orumai-y-iṅ-cu-p*

*Pāṅkā-r-ciṅappilā mē-y-u miṅ-ka-p-paṅmai-y-ām-iṭattū*

*Nīṅkāta-miṅkaḷ-uṅ kaḷ-l-ām-icai-v-iṅiṅka-v-v-eṅpatān*

*Tāṅkā-p-parōkka-t t-iṅ-iṅ-pōlum-ām-eṅpar-tāl-kuḷalē.*

(V. K. 9.)

There is one difference between the imperative mood in Tamil and that in Sanskrit; in the former, it is used only in the second person, except in the case of instances like *ceyyavēṇṭum* which appear to represent a type of periphrastic imperative formation as explained above, whereas in the latter, it is used in all persons.

3.222223. OPTATIVE MOOD ; 3.2222231. AFFIRMATIVE VOICE : Active voice in the optative mood in Tamil verbs expresses request, injunction, wish, etc. in the same way as the Sanskrit potential, and benediction as the Sanskrit benedictive. Tolkāppiyaṅār mentions that *viyaṅkōḷ* or optative mood is used only in the third person, both singular and plural where it has the same form in *āṅpāl*, *peṅpāl*, *paḷarpāl*, *oṅraṅpāl* and *paḷaviṅpāl*.<sup>1</sup> But what its form is he does not seem to have mentioned. He uses the verbs *aṟital* and *kāṭṭal* as optative mood in Tol. Col. 458 and 463 respectively.

The author of *Viracōḷiyam* agrees with Tolkāppiyaṅār in the meaning and the use of the optative mood and improves upon him by saying that its form is obtained by adding 'ka' to the roots.<sup>2</sup> Nannūlar differs from them both in its application and the form. It is used in all persons and numbers and the forms mentioned are *ceyka*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyyiyar*.<sup>3</sup> The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* agrees with Nannūlar in its application, but as regards its formation he adds the forms ending in *al*, *āl*, *um*, *mār* and *ai*.<sup>4</sup>

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1. *Eñciya kiḷavi y-iṭattoḷū civaṇi*  
*Ai-m-pāṅku m-uriya tōṅra l-āṅē.* (Tol. Col. 225.)  
*Avarruḷ*  
*Munṇilai taṅmai y-ā-y-i-r iṭattoḷū*  
*Mannā t-āḱum viyaṅkōḷ kiḷavi.* (ibid. 226.)
  2. V. K. 9. See F. N. p. 180, 2.
  3. *Ka-ya-v-oḷu ra-v-v-oḷ ṟ-iṅra viyaṅkōḷ*  
*Iyaḷu m-iṭam-pā l-eṅku m-eṅpa.* (Na. 338.)
  4. *Ka-ya-v-oḷū ra-v-v-oḷ ṟ-al-āl um-mār*  
*Ai-kā nīṅra viyaṅkōḷ murravai*  
*Eytu m-iṭam-pā l-eṅku m-eṅpa.* (I. V. 239.)

The opinion of the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* seems to me to be the most acceptable when we take into consideration the forms used in the literature from the Sangam period onwards. He has himself given quotations in his commentary on the *sūtra* 239. The following may be added to them.

*vāḷiya nī* (May you live long). (Ka. T. Vol., 2. 583. 21.)

*vāḷiyar yāṇ* (May I live long). (P. N. 365. 9.)

*vāḷiyar pala* (May many prosper). (P. N. 371. 25.)

*nī vāḷiyar* (May you live long). (P. N. 137. 14.)

*ceyḷēṅ ākuha* (May I be considered to have done it),  
(P. N. 71. 9.)

*celvai y-ākuvai* (May you be considered to have gone).  
(P. N. 70. 15.)

(The last two may be regarded as periphrastic formations.) In addition to these it seems the form *ceyyāy* also was used in the second person singular of the affirmative voice of the optative mood. (e.g.) *kāvāy kōvē* (Ohking! may you protect). (Kampar. A. 241. 41.)

In colloquial speech such forms as *vāḷattum*, *vāḷakkaṭavāṅ* *vāḷakkaṭavū* etc., are generally used in the third person.

3.2222232. *NEGATIVE VOICE*: In the negative voice such forms as 'peyaral' formed by adding the negative particle *al* to the root are found. e.g., *niṅ coṅ peyaral* (P. N. 3. 14.) which means 'may your command never change'. They may have arisen under the following conditions:—Forms like *peyarāy-allāy* may have been in use in the second person singular similar to *celvēṅ allēm* (P. N. 36, 11) in the first person plural, *ollāṅ allāṅ* (P. N. 97, 21) in the third person singular. Then *peyarāy-allāy* may have been reduced to *peyar-al* in the same way as *ceyyāy* to *cey*. Or forms like *peyar-alāy* may have been in use similar to *cel-lalam* (P. N. 101, 1), *aṟiyalam* (P. N. 239, 9.) and they may have been reduced to *peyar-al*.

In colloquial Tamil at present the form *vāḷāyāka* (I wish you not to prosper) is generally used in the negative voice. This may be considered to be a periphrastic formation made up of a

negative verb in the negative voice of the indicative mood and the optative affirmative form *āka* of the root 'ā'.

3.222224. *ECCAM OR INFINITIVE MOOD* : *Eccam* is primarily divided into two classes *peyar-eccam* and *viṇai-y-eccam*.

3.2222241. *PEYAR-ECCAM* : *Peyar-eccam* corresponds to the participle in Sanskrit. It is of four kinds :—active affirmative relative participle, active negative relative participle, passive affirmative relative participle and passive negative relative participle. Each of these may be further divided into three according as it denotes the past, present or future action. Invariably each qualifies a noun following it.

3.22222411. *ACTIVE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : According to Tolkāppiyaṇār the form *ceyta* is the past active affirmative relative participle and the form *ceyyum* is both the present and the future active affirmative relative participle.<sup>1</sup> The finite verbs, which take 'iy' as in *uraṅkiṇāṇ* to denote the past, have their active affirmative relative participle in the form *uraṅkiya*. (e.g.,) *maṅ ṭiṇinta nilaṇum* (The land full of earth) (P. N. 2. 1.) ; *nilaṅ ēntiya vicumṭum* (The sky which is above the land) (P.N. 2. 2.) ; *mutti-vūlakkil tuṅcum porhōṭṭimayanum* (P. N. 2. 23, 24.) (The Himalayas with gold peaks where sleep (the deer) in the light of triad-fire). Here *tuṅcum* is the present relative participle; *teṅpula vālnarkku aruṅkaṭaṅ iṅkum . . . puṭalvar* (sons who offer oblations to manes residing in the south) (P. N. 9. 3). Here *iṅkum* is the future relative participle. The form *ceykinṇa* as the present active affirmative relative participle is scarcely found anywhere in Sangam works. I came across the word 'cērkinṇa' in the sentence 'cērkinṇa kaṅkaviṅ, in Paripāṭal (Pari. 163. 35). This may be taken as a participial noun in the plural number meaning "those that join" and qualifying the plural noun *kaṅ*. The form 'iṅavāniṅṇa, which is found in Kuraḷ 1157 may be explained in the same way.

1. *Nilāṇum poruḷ-uṅ kalam-uṅ karuvi-y-um*  
*Viṇai-mutaṅ kiḷavi-y-um viṇai-y-u m-ūḷa-p-paṭa*  
*A-v-v-aṅu poruṭkum-ō r-aṅṅa v-urimaiya*  
*Ceyyūṅ ceyta v-eṅṅuṅ collē. (Tol. Col. 234.)*

But in the literature and inscriptions of the medieval period, present active affirmative participles of the forms *ceykiṅṅa* and *ceyāniṅṅa* are found in large numbers.

- (e.g.) *celvam-uyarkiṅṅa celvar* (Rich men who are becoming richer). (T. 1. 5.)  
*cellāniṅṅa āṅṅu* (The year which is passing). (T. A. S. i. 14.)

It also seems to me that the form *ceykiṅṅa* was very frequent in colloquial speech of that period. Hence the author of the *Vīracōliyam* says that the present participle is formed by adding *kiṅṅa*, *āniṅṅa* or *cu* to the root. The past participle is formed according to him by the addition of *ta*, *ṅa* or *ya* and the future participle by that of *kum* or *um*.<sup>1</sup> In the example *cey cāttan*, he seems to take *cey* and *cāttan* as separate words where *cey* is the present active affirmative relative participle which is formed by adding the participle *cu* (corresponding to *su*, the nominative singular suffix in Sanskrit) which is evidently dropped afterwards. This is done by him only to get the designation *pada* to *cey*, since, according to him, *pada* is 'suptānantam.' But *ceycāttan* may be taken as a compound and hence it would have been better if he had omitted it. In *kiṅṅa* and *āniṅṅa* mentioned by him it seems to me that 'a' is the sign of the participle and *kiṅṅu* and *āniṅṅu* are the present tense signs. I do not know why he failed to mention the form *ceykiṅṅa* which was frequently used in the works that were written before his time.

The author of *Naṅṅūl* follows him, but substitutes the form *ceykiṅṅa* for the form *ceykiṅṅa*.<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Ilakkaṅaviḷakkam*

1. *Tātu-v-iṅ-ṅiṅṅu ta-ṅa-ya-v-iṅṅi nikaṅci-y-iṅ-kaṅ*  
*Otuṅ-kiṅṅa-cu-v-v-o ṅ-āniṅṅa-v-āṅ-kum-m-um m-oṅṅu-maṅ-*  
kāṅ  
*Pētamali-y-u m-etiriṅ-kaṅ-ākum piṅṅavum-vantāl*  
*Ētam-il catirān-tam-ṅiṅṅai-y-ā-ma l-iyarri-k-kolḷē.*  
(V. Tāt. 7.)

2. *Ceyta ceykiṅṅa ceyyum-eṅ-ṅāṅṅil*  
*Kālam-uṅ ceyal-un tōṅṅi-ṅ-ṅāl-oṅṅu*  
*Ceyva t-āti aṅṅu-ṅoruṅ peyarum*  
*Eṅca niṅṅatu peyar-ec cam-m-ē. (Na. 340.)*

follows *Nannūlar*.<sup>1</sup>

3.22222412. *ACTIVE NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : In the ancient period only the form *ceyyāta* seems to have been in use and it may have been used in all tenses. (e.g.) *ṣayaṅ illāta col* (word which is of no use) (K, 198). Even now the form *ceyyōta* is used in all tenses though more frequently in the past and the future : (e.g.)

*itai-c-ceyyāta ṣaiyaṅ aṣikkapṣaṭṭāy* (the boy who did not do this was beaten). (*Colloq.*)

*itai-c-ceyyāta ṣaiyaṅ aṣikkapṣaṭṭukirāy* (the boy who does not do this is beaten). (*Colloq.*)

*itai-c-ceyyāta ṣaiyaṅ aṣikkapṣaṭṭuvāy* (the boy who will not do this will be beaten). (*Colloq.*)

Besides the form *ceyyāta*, the periphrastic forms *ceyyāmal irunta*, *ceyyāmal irukkiṅṅa* and *ceyyāmal irukkum* are respectively used in the past, present and future tenses.

3.22222413. *PASSIVE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE*. In the works of the ancient period perhaps except in *Kuṟaḷ* it seems that there was no form belonging to this class. In the later periods the forms *ceyyapṣaṭṭa*, *ceyyapṣaṭṭukiṅṅa* and *ceyyapṣaṭṭum* are used in the past, present and future tense respectively. (e.g.)

*kuyavaṅṅāṟ ceyyapṣaṭṭa kuṭam* (pot which was made by the potter). (*Colloq.*)

*taccaṅṅāṟ ceyyapṣaṭṭukiṅṅa nāṟkūli* (chair which is made by the carpenter). (*Colloq.*)

*aracaṅṅāṟ kaṭṭapṣaṭṭum māḷikai* (palace built by the king). (*Colloq.*)

3.22222414. *PASSIVE NEGATIVE RELATIVE PARTICIPLE* : As in the case of forms of passive affirmative relative

1. *Avarruḷ*

*Ceyta ceykiṅṅa ceyyum-eṅ pāṭṭil*

*Ceyva t-āti aru-ṣoruḷ peyar-oṣū*

*Muṣiyu muṟaiyatū peyar-ec cam-m-ē.* (I. V. 243.)



participle, it seems to me that there were no forms for this in the ancient period except in Kūṛaḷ. In the later periods, the form *ceyyaṣṣaṭāta* was used in all tenses. In modern times the periphrastic forms *ceyyaṣṣaṭāmal-irunta*, *ceyyaṣṣaṭāmal irukkiṅṅa* and *ceyyaṣṣaṭāmal-irukkum* are also found used in the past, present and future tenses respectively. (e.g.) *kēṭṭakaṣṣaṭāta cevi* (K. 418).

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam says that the suffix denoting the active participles corresponds to *śatṛpratyaya* and *kānac pratyaya* in Sanskrit and the passive participles like *ceyyaṣṣaṭā* end in *kānacpratyaya*. It must be noted here that *śatṛ* and *kānac* in *gaccan* and *gamyamāna* are two entirely different *pratyayas*, while 'a' in *ceyta* and *ceyyaṣṣaṭā* is one and the same.

3.22222415. WHAT IS THE ORIGIN OF 'A', THE ENDING OF THE PRESENT AND PAST PARTICIPLES CEYKINṅA, IRAVĀNIṅṅA, CEYTA, ETC.? From the use of the words *ceykiṅṅa* and *iravāniṅṅa* in the Paripāṭal and the Kūṛaḷ<sup>1</sup> respectively qualifying plural nouns *kaṅ* and *vaḷai*, it seems to me that *ceykiṅṅa*, *iravāniṅṅa* and *ceyta* may have been the nominative neuter plurals of the neuter singular forms *ceykiṅṅū*, *iravāniṅṅū*,<sup>2</sup> *ceytū*, when they were used as participial nouns. I have already shown at some length how the finite verbal forms could be used as participial nouns and declined in all cases. Originally they may have been used to qualify neuter plural nouns, but later on, since the neuter plural nouns like *kaṅ*, *vaḷai*, etc. had the same form as the singular as an alternative for *kaṅkaḷ*, *vāḷaikaḷ*, etc. the words like *ceykiṅṅa* may have been used along with singular nouns and later on may have been used to qualify all kinds of nouns. Dr. Caldwell thinks<sup>3</sup> that 'a' is a possessive case sign; but I have already shown that the possessive case sign 'a' mentioned by Naṅṅūḷār may have evolved from 'a' the sign of the neuter plural in verbs.

1. *Ceykiṅṅa kaṅ*. (Pari. 163, 35.)

*Iravāniṅṅa vaḷai*. (K. 1157.)

2. *Ceykiṅṅū*:—*cey* (root) + *ku* (cāriyai) + *iṅ* (cāriyai) + *rū*  
(neuter singular termination.)

3. C. D. G. 523.



3.222242. *VINAI-Y-ECCAM*: *Viyai-y-eccam* corresponds to indeclinable past participles like Sanskrit *gatvā* and gerunds like *gantum* in Sanskrit, and infinitive verbal forms denoting condition and cause, which are not found in Sanskrit.

The indeclinable past participles are of two kinds—the affirmative past participle and the negative past participle. The affirmative indeclinable past participial forms are according to Tolkāppiyaṅār *ceytū*, *ceyyū* and *ceypū*. He does not mention the negative indeclinable past participial forms; but uses the form *koḷḷātū* in Tol. Col. 198, and this form is frequently used in literature. (e.g.) *vāyil viṭātū kōyil puḷkēṁ* (we entered the palace without informing the gate-keeper) (P. N. 67. 10). According to Tolkāppiyaṅār, the forms that are gerunds are *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya*, *ceyaṅkū*, *ceyteṅa* and *ceya*, and the form that is used as infinitive denoting condition is *ceyiy*.<sup>1</sup>

*CEYTŪ*: This is formed, I think, by adding *tu* to the root *cey*. It denotes an action done previous to that which is denoted by the verb which it qualifies. (e.g.) *ceytū vanlāṅ*. It may be noted here that this suffix *tu* and the stem *tu* of the suffixes *tum*, *tvā tavē* and *tōḥ*, in *gantum*, *gatvā*, *sarjavē* and *gantōḥ* of Vedic Sanskrit are similar. In addition to the form *ceytū*, the forms *pōy* and *uṅaṅki* are used. Here *tu* is not added to the root, but *y* or *i* is added. If *i* happened to be the earlier suffix, it may be said that it was changed to *y*<sup>2</sup> in the case of certain verbs. These forms *ceytū*, *uṅaṅki* and *pōy* have lived to the present day, unlike the forms *ceyyū* and *ceypū*.

*CEYYŪ*: Cēṅāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar mention that this denotes an action done previous to that denoted by the verb finite or infinite which it qualifies.<sup>3</sup> (e.g.) *itai puṭaiyū . . . erri*

1. *Ceytū ceyyū-c ceypū ceyteṅa-c*  
*Ceyyiyar ceyyiya ceyiy-ceya-c ceyaṅkēṅa*  
*A-v-vakai y-oypatum viyai-y-eṅcu kiḷavi.*

(Tol. Col. 228.)

2. Cf. *Ikara yakara m-iruti viravum*. (Tol. E. 58.)

3. *Ukaram uṅṅavanlāṅ, tiṅṅū-vantāṅ enap-  
piṅ-varum toḷiṅkū itai-y-iyri muṅ-varum*

(Pattu, 227. 376). But there are examples where it denotes an action more or less simultaneous with that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. Thus in the sentence '*tōḷ ḍcci valaṅ vaḷai-yūu-p-pakal makil tūṅkum*' (Pattu, 136. 145.) which means 'dancing at day time with the left shoulder bent towards the right', the word *vaḷaiyūu* qualifies the present participle *tūṅkum* and the action of bending denoted by it remains so long as the action of dancing denoted by *tūṅkum* remains. Hence it seems that Teyvaccilaiyār has mentioned that this form *ceyyū* may denote an action simultaneous with that of the word which it qualifies.<sup>1</sup> This form *ceyyū* sometimes changes to *ceyyā*.<sup>2</sup>

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam says that this corresponds to the form *kāram* in Sanskrit where the *ṇamulpratyaya* is added to the root.<sup>3</sup> There is no purpose served by taking it so. This has almost given place to the form *ceyyā* even in the ancient period. (e.g.) *katavū eṇiyā civanturāy* (P. N. 4. 10).

**CEYPŪ**: Cēṅāvaraiyar thinks that this denotes an action simultaneous with that which is denoted by the word which it qualifies. Teyvaccilaiyār and Nacciṅārkkkiṅiyar quote one and the same sentence '*ḷularā-p-paccilai-y-iṅai-y-uṅṅu toḷutta*' where the action denoted by *uṅṅu* is previous to that denoted by *toḷutta* and hence think that the form *ceypū* may also denote an action previous to that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. This agrees with the use of the word '*teripū*' in *teripū-vēṅu kiḷattal* (Tol. Col. 49) by Tolkāppiyanār himself. This like *ceyyū*, is practically extinct.

The form **CEYYĀTŪ** evidently denotes the absence of an action that should have been done before that denoted by the verb which it qualifies. (e.g.) *nirayaṅ koḷpavarotū onṅātū . . .*

*toḷiṅ-mēl iṅanta-kālam paṅṅi varum.*

(Tol. Col. 228. Cēṅā.)

1. *Ceyyū-eṅpatū iṅanta-kālamum nikaḷ-kālamum kāṅṅum.*

(Tol. Col. 228, Tey.)

2. *Ceyyā v-eṅṅum viṅai-y-eṅcu kiḷaviyum.* (Tol. E. 223.)

3. *Ceyyā-c ceyyū-c ceypū-v-e ṅ-eccaṅ*

*Катуи-ē ṇamul-ē yaṅ-p-eṅa l-ākam.* (P. V. 38, Comm.)

*ōmpumati* (P. N. 5, 6 & 7). The form *ceyyāmai* is used in the same sense by Tolkāppiyāṅār in the sūtra

*Aṭai-ciṇai, mutal-eṇa muṟai-mūṟṟu mayāṅkāmai*  
*Naṭai-ṭeṟ ṟiyalum vaṇṇa-c ciṇai-c-col.* (Tol. Col. 26.)

In addition to them the form *ceyyāmal* is found in Sangam works. (e.g.) *ṭirāmaṟ kāppatōr ṭiraṇuṇṭēl* (Ka. T. Vol. 1, 287, 13.); *ceyyāmaṟ ceṭṭa-v-utavi* (K. 101). The latter form is more frequently used in modern days than the former.

What could have been its origin? I venture to suggest the following explanation:—

From the frequent use of compound forms like *celvēm allēm* (P. N. 31. 11.), *toṭutaṇam allamō* (P. N. 60. 6.) in old Tamil literature, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that a compound formation of the type of *kāṇām allām* was also current beside the forms *kāṇēm allēm*, and *kāṇvaṇam allam*. Now it is easy to see how an extended form like *kāṇāmal* representing the negative indeclinable participle may have sprung up, by the line of separation being erroneously drawn between *kāṇāmal* and *ām*. In all probability, the form *kāṇāmal* which arose in this manner may have been used first in association with a verb of the first person plural and subsequently may have acquired an extended use in association with other persons and numbers also. Then the forms like *ceyyāmal* may have sprung up. The form *ceyyāmēl* is also found in use.

**GERUNDS: CEYYIYAR AND CEYYIYA:** These mean exactly 'for the purpose of doing'. Hence they qualify a word which denotes an action previous to that denoted by itself. These two are practically extinct now. It is worth noting that the gerunds *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyiya* are similar in form to that of the finite verbs in the optative mood. cf. *nī vāḷiyar* (P.N. 137.14); *vāḷiya nī* (Ka. T. Vol. 2.583.21).

**CEYARKŪ:** This conveys the same sense as *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyiya*. In form it appears to be the fourth case of the verbal

1. *Añcaṅa vaṇṇaṅ-eṅ ṟ-ār-uyir nāyaka ṟ-ālāmē*  
 (my dear life-giver, blue in colour as collyrium, not ruling.) . . . . (Kampar. Kuka. 14.)

noun *ceyal*. It is similar to the form *sartavē* in Vedic Sanskrit since both the forms are dative. Examples like *vararḱū* (to come) (P. N. 64. 7), *valaṅ-ceyarḱū* (to go round in clock-wise direction) (P. N. 6. 18) are very frequent in literary works. But in modern times the form *ceyvatarḱū* is more frequently used than the form *ceyarḱū*.

**CEYA:** This conveys the same meaning as *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyarḱū*, when it qualifies a finite verb, a participle, indeclinable past participle or another gerund. This is sometimes used as an absolute. In examples like *maḷai peyya*, *kuḷam niṟaintatū*, (rain falling, the tank became full) the gerund *peyya* denotes an action previous to that denoted by the verb *niṟaintatū* which follows it; and in examples like *ṅāyīru paṭa*, *avaṅ vantāṅ*, (the sun setting, he came) the gerund *paṭa* denotes an action simultaneous with that denoted by the verb *vantāṅ* which follows it: It may also denote an action subsequent to that denoted by the verb which it qualifies (e.g.) *maḱkaḷ cūkamāy irukka tantai paṅaṅ cērtiṅ*. (The father amassed wealth so that his children might live happily.) This form has lived to the present day. Sometimes, the form *ceyya* takes its place.

**CEYIN:** This means 'if you do'. A similar infinitive form is not found in Sanskrit. This form *ceyiṅ* is frequently used in the works of the Sangam period. (e.g.) *paṛicil nalkuvaiyāyiṅ* (if you give presents) (P. N. 116. 5). This may be taken as an ablative infinitive. It is similar in form to the ablative infinitive *gantōḥ* in Vedic Sanskrit, though they differ in sense. The form is gradually giving place to the form *ceytāl* which is evidently a third case formed from the stem *ceytū*. (e.g.) *eṅṅiyiruntāl* (if you have thought) (Kampar. A. 276. 88.)

In the ancient period the negative form corresponding to *ceyiṅ* is *ceyiṅallāl*. (e.g.) *niṅ kaṅ peṇṅallāl* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 524. 8). In modern days the forms *ceyyāviṅ* and *ceyyāviṅṅāl* are used instead.

**CEYTENA:** This form is generally used as an absolute, though there are instances like *viḷuttakai peṛukeṅa vēṅṅutum* (Pari. 93. 117) where it is used like other gerunds. It generally denotes the cause of the action denoted by the verb which follows it.

(e.g.) *putuṣṣeyal pōlintēna kōvalar . . . vēru pulam paraṣṣi* (Since there were new showers, shepherds having gone to new lands) (Pattu. 323, 2 to 4) and hence it should invariably denote an action previous to that denoted by the verb which follows it. This form has almost died out.

In addition to the above forms, Tolkāppiyaṅār has mentioned the forms *ceyṭaṣṣiṅ*, *ceyṭamuṅ*, *ceyṭakkāl*, *ceyvali*, *ceyṭam*, etc., which end in the words *ṣiṅ*, *muṅ*, etc. which denote time.

Besides, the form *ceyṭum* is used in the literature of the ancient period in the sense 'though one does'. (e.g.) *nī vēṅṭiṭum* (though you want) (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 576, 20). This is evidently formed from *ceyṭiṅ* by the addition of the particle *um*. This is to a certain extent parallel to the form *kṛtvāpi* (*kṛtvā + api*) in Sanskrit.

The author of the *Viṛacōliyam* mentions that the particles *poruṭṭū*, *ka*, *pāṅ*, *taṅkū*, *vāṅ* and *a* are added after roots to give the sense of *tumanta* (i.e.) gerunds.<sup>1</sup> The examples for the same are found in the commentary under the same stanza:— They are *uṅṅutaṅporuṭṭū vantāṅ* (he came to eat), *kaṅka tāṅpariyallāṅ* (he intended to read), *paṅṣiṅpāṅ vantāṅ* (he came to read,) *pōṭaṅkū niṅaintāṅ* (he thought to go), *aṅivāṅ karuttuṅṭū* (he desired to know), *uṅṅa vallāṅ* (he is able to eat). Here it is evident that the forms *uṅṅutaṅporuṭṭū* and *pōṭaṅkū* are respectively the fourth case of the verbal nouns *uṅṅutal* and *pōṭal*. The forms *kaṅka* and *uṅṅa* come under the same category as *ceya* mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṅār. In the case of *paṅṣiṅpāṅ* and *aṅivāṅ* in the sentences '*paṅṣiṅpāṅ vantāṅ*' and '*aṅivāṅ karuttuṅṭū*', they may have been originally finite verbs and were later on taken as gerunds.

1. *Māṅṅum tumantam poruṭṭū-k-ka-p-pāṅ-taṅkū vāṅ-a*  
v-eṅṅū

*Paṅṅum-eṅṅi-rātū viṅ-ṣiṅpīl-ākum paṅkaril-muṅṭū*  
*Tuṅṅiya tātu-t toṅṅi-poruṭṭāka v-eṅṅun-toṅarcci*  
*Uṅṅiya-pōṭeṅṅū teṅva-p-pulava v-uraittaṅarē.*

(V. Tāt. 8.)

How this happened may thus be explained. Tolkāppiyāṅār recognises the use of a number of finite verbs without conjunctive particles, in syntactic agreement with the same subject.<sup>1</sup> It does not require much effort to see that collocations of this kind—*puttiyāyai vantatu kāṅṅāy yāy taṅkiyēy* (I stayed to see the new elephant) (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 592, 7), *colliṅāy . . . tēṅṅuvāy* (Kampar. A. 213, 16), *paṅam cēṅṅāy paṅṅāy varuvāy* (he came to read so that he might earn money) (*Colloq.*)—may have led to forms like *kāṅṅāy*, *cēṅṅāy*, *paṅṅāy*, being taken as gerunds in the sense of *cēṅṅa* and *paṅṅa*.

Similarly he says that the particles *ā*, *iṅṅu*, *tu*, *u* and *i* are added to roots to convey the sense of *tvānta*.<sup>2</sup> The examples for the same are, as given in the commentary, *uṅṅā-p-pōṅāy*, *uṅṅiṅṅu-p-pōṅāy*, *uṅṅu-pōṅāy*, *pukuntu-pōṅāy*, *pukku-p-pōṅāy*, and *colli-niṅṅāy*. Of these *a*, *tu* and *i* have already been mentioned. The particle *iṅṅu* is evidently the indeclinable past participle of the root *iṅṅu* and it seems to have been used in the colloquial speech at the time of the author of the *Viracōliyam* as a particle giving the sense of *tvānta*. The form *pukku* may have originally been *pukkū* and *ū* may have been shortened to *u*.

The author of the *Nēminātam* has omitted the forms *ceyyiyar* and *ceyyū* mentioned by Tolkāppiyāṅār, since such forms may have gone out of use in his time, incorporated the forms ending in *ā* and *pāy* mentioned by the author of the *Viracōliyam* and has added another form ending in *pākkū*.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Avaitām*  
*Tattān kilāvi y-aṅṅukuna variṅṅum*  
*Ettirāt tāṅṅum peyar-muṅṅi piṅṅavē.* (Tol. Col, 429.)
2. *Ā-v-um-iṅṅu-n-tu-v-v-u-m-u-v-v-iṅṅiyyu m-arum-pulavar*  
*Ēvuṅ-karuttā v-iru-toṅṅi k-onṅiṅṅi muṅṅu-niṅṅū*  
*Mēvum-poruṅ-tātu viṅṅ-piṅṅ-varu-mikka taṅṅ-peyarē*  
*Pāvum-tuvāntam-a tāṅṅ-ēṅṅuraiṅṅar paṅṅi-moṅṅiē.*  
(V. Tāt. 9.)
3. *Ceytū ceya-c-c-ceyyā-c ceyyiya ceyteya-c*  
*Ceypū ceyiṅṅ-ceyar keṅṅpaṅṅavum-moy-kulalāy*  
*Piṅṅ-muṅṅ-pāy pākkum piṅṅavum viṅṅai-y-ecca-c*  
*Coṅṅ-muṅṅ vakuttōr tuṅṅivu.* (N. N. Col. 43.)



The author of the Naṇṇūl has mentioned all the forms noted by Tolkāppiyānār except *ceyaṟkū* and adopted the forms ending in *ā*, *vāṅ* and *pāṅ* from the author of the Viracōliyam and the forms ending in *pākkū* from the author of the Nēminātam.<sup>1</sup>

Cēṇāvaraiyar in his commentary under Tol. Col. 229 mentions the form ending in *pākkū* and also other forms ending in *āl* as *ceytāl* and *mal* as *ceyṅāmal* (negative), etc. (e.g.) *oṅṅu kuṟaiṟaṅāmal* (Cilap. 57. 9.)

Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar in his commentary under the same sūtra adds a form ending in *vākkū*.

The author of the Ilakkaṅaviḷakkam repeats what has been said by the author of the Naṇṇūl.<sup>2</sup>

WHAT IS THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE FORMS ENDING IN PĀKKŪ AND VĀKKŪ? There are three instances where the suffix *pākkū* is used in the Kuṟaḷ. They are found in the Kuṟaḷ, 136, 164 and 1312. In the first two, the word *paṭupākkū* appears and in the last, *eyṅpākkū*. From the context they mean only *paṭutal* and *eyṅutal*. *Pākkū*, here, may be understood as a suffix added to a root to form a verbal noun denoting the action alone. Thus a form like *paṭupākkū* may be analysed into the root *paṭu*, the formative suffix *pu* and *ākkū* the noun form of the root *ākkū*. But the forms ending in *pākkū* and *vākkū* mentioned by the authors of the Nēminātam and the Naṇṇūl and Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar are gerunds. Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar quotes a sentence '*puṅar-taru-cevan-taru-pākkū-c-ceyṅāy*' as an example of the gerund ending in *pākkū* and quotes a colloquial expression '*koḷvākkū vāntāy*' as an example of the gerund ending in *vākkū*. They are very rarely used in literature. What could have been their origin?

*Uṅpākkū* and *koḷvākkū* may have arisen through haplology as crippled forms of *uṅpākkukku* and *koḷvākkukku*, the dative singular of *uṅpākkū* and *koḷvākkū*.

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1. *Ceytū ceypū ceyyā-c ceyyū-c*  
*Ceyteṅa-c ceya-c ceiyṅ ceyyiya ceyyiyar*  
*Vāṅ-pāṅ pākkēṅa viṅai-y-eccam piṟa*  
*Aintonṅ r-ārum mukkālam-um muṟai-tarum.* (Na. 343.)

2. (I. V. 246.) See f.n. 2 *supra*.



The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam has mentioned only the forms *ceyyū*, *ceyyū*, *ceyṣū*, *ceyiṅ*, *ceytāl*, *ceytū* and *ceya* and coins the following sūtras to make these forms correspond to those in Sanskrit:—‘*ceyyū-c-ceyyū-c-ceyṣu v-en-eccañ-kamuñē, ṇamulē yaṣ-ṣeṇal ākum*’ ‘*eṇaveṅ eccam itiyēṇal ākum*’ ‘*ceyiṅ ceytāl-eṇa-c-ceṣṣum iraṅṅinai iticēt t-eṅpar aṅinticiṅōrē*’. These mean that the forms *ceyyū*, *ceyyū* and *ceyṣū* respectively correspond to the forms in Sanskrit ending in *khamuñ* (e.g. *cāurañ kāram* in *cāurañkāram ākrōśati*), *ṇamul* (e.g. *śmāram śmāram*) and *yaṣ* (e.g. *avagamyā*); the form *ceyteya* corresponds to *kṛtvā iti*; the forms *ceyiṅ* and *ceytāl* correspond to *karōti cēt*. He also mentions that the form *ceytū* corresponds to *kṛtvā* and *ceya* to *kartum*. Since no useful purpose is served by these sūtras of correspondence, I think they are unnecessary in a treatise on Tamil grammar.

In colloquial speech only the form *ceytū* remains for the indeclinable past participle, the forms *ceya* and *ceytaṅkū* for the gerund, *ceyiṅ* and *ceytāl* to denote condition and *ceytālum* and *ceyiṅum* to denote contrast in the affirmative; and in the negative voice *ceyyāmal* (e.g. *kuṛaiṣaṭāmal* (Cilap. 57. 9) for the indeclinable past participle, *ceyyāmal iruṣṣataṅkū* for the gerund and *ceyyāmal iruntāl* and *ceyyāmal iruntālum* to denote condition and contrast respectively. The presence of many forms for the gerund in the affirmative in the ancient Tamil and only a few in the modern period reminds one of the similar process of change in the history of Sanskrit infinitives.

### 3.23. IṬAI-C-COL:

3.231. DEFINITION: Tolkāppiyaṅār mentions in the sūtras

*Iṭai-y-eyā-p paṭuva peyaroṭum viṇai-y-oṭum*  
*Naṭai-ṭer ṛ-iyalum tamakkiyal p-ūlavē. (Tol. Col. 249.)*  
*Avaitām*  
*Muṇṇum piṇṇu moḷi-y-aṭuttu varutalum*  
*Tam-m-īru tiritalum piṇṇitava ṇilaiyalum*  
*Aṇṇavai y-ellā m-uriya v-eypa. (ibid. 251.)*  
*Avaitām*  
*Puṇariya ṇilai-y-iṭai-p poruṇilai-k-kutanavum*  
*Viṇai-ceyay maruṅkiṇṇi kalamoṇu varunavum*  
*Vēṇṇumai-p poruḷ-vayyi ṇ-urupā kunavum*  
*Acai-nilai-k kiḷavi y-ūki varunavum*  
*Icai-niṇṇai-k kiḷavi y-ūki varunavum*  
*Tattaṅ kuṇṇiṇṇi poruḷ-cey kunavum*  
*Oṇṇil valiyāṇṇi poruḷ-cey kunavum-eṇṇi*  
*A-p-paṇ piṇṇavē muvaluṅ kālai. (ibid. 250.)*

that *iṭai-c-col* has no separate existence of its own, it is used along with nouns and verbs either as a part of them or before or after them and consists of the flexional increments, personal terminations of verbs, case-suffixes, particles added for the sake of euphony or for making up the quantity of verse, particles of conjunction and interjection, and those denoting comparison, etc. From this it is clear that *iṭai-c-col* in Tamil corresponds to *pratyayas* and *nipātas* in Sanskrit. The author of the Nēminātam repeats the idea contained in Tol. Col. 250 only.<sup>1</sup> The author

1. *Cāriyai-y-ā y-oṇṇa l-urupāta rāṇ-kuṇṇiṇṇi*  
*Ērum poruḷ-āta piṇṇicai-y-āy-p-pērtal*  
*Viṇai-c-coṇṇiṇṇi rāta l-icai-niṇṇaittu mēval*  
*Aṇṇaittē y-iṭai-c-co l-aḷavu. (N. N. Col. 50.)*

of the Nanṇūl summarises in one sūtra<sup>1</sup> all that is said by Tolkāppiyaṅār, in the three sūtras mentioned above. The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam<sup>2</sup> and the Tonnūlviḷakkam<sup>3</sup> more or less repeat what is said by Nanṇūlār. All the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam and the later grammarians think that Tol. Col. 249 deals with the definition of *iṭai-c-col*.

But it seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṅār did not intend either Tol. Col. 249 or all the three sūtras Tol. Col. 249, 251 and 250 for the purpose of defining *iṭai-c-col*; for, the most important feature of *iṭai-c-col* is that it is a *pratyaya* or formative element or a *nipāta*. This is suggested by the name *iṭai-c-col* which means 'the side word.' That this is his idea is well seen from the sūtra

*Iṭai-c-col l-ellām vēṅṅumai-c collē.* (Tol. Col. 455.)

where he says that every *iṭai-c-col* is *vēṅṅumai-c-col*. Here *vēṅṅumai-c-col* evidently means differentiating element, *i. e.*, an element which differentiates the relation between the governing base or word to which it is appended and the following verb. For instance the case-suffix *ai* in '*irāmaṅai*' specifically defines the character of *irāmaṅ*'s relation to the following verb as its object, since the stem *irāmaṅ*, by itself, admits of several kinds of relation such as the subject, instrument, recipient, etc. Similarly *ā* in *vantāṅā* makes the assertive verb *vantāṅ* an interrogative verb and so on.

Having suggested that *iṭai-c-col* is a formative element or a *nipāta*, Tolkāppiyaṅār says in Tol. Col. 249 and 251 that it does

1. *Vēṅṅumai viṅṅai cāriyai oṅṅu urupuka!*  
*Tattam poruḷa icai-niṅṅai acai-nilai*  
*Kuṅṅiṅṅu n-eṅ-pakutiṅṅiṅṅu taṅṅiṅṅiṅṅu l-iṅṅi-ṅ*  
*Peyariṅṅum viṅṅaiṅṅum piṅ-muṅ ḍriṅṅattū*  
*Oṅṅum paḷavum van tonṅuva t-iṅṅai-c-col.* (Na. 420.)
2. *Vēṅṅumai viṅṅai-cā riṅṅai-y-oṅ purupuka!*  
*Tattam poruḷa v-icai-niṅṅai y-acai-nilai*  
*I-t-tiṅṅa m-ēṅṅiṅṅu taṅṅiṅṅiṅṅu l-iṅṅi-ṅ*  
*Peyariṅṅum viṅṅaiṅṅum piṅ-muṅ n-ḍr-iṅṅattū*  
*Oṅṅum paḷavum-van tonṅuva t-iṅṅai-c-col.* (I. V. 251.)
3. T. V. 130.

not possess a separate existence, but is used as a part of nouns or verbs or before or after either of them. He then enumerates them in detail in Tol. Col. 250.

3-232. IS IṬAI-C-COL VĀCAKA OR DYŌTAKA? Cēṅā-varaiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār mention in their commentary on Tol. Col. 249 that the word 'tamakkiyalpila' suggests that *iṭai-c-col* is not a *vācaka* but only *dyōtaka*, i.e. it does not have a meaning of its own, but only suggests that the noun or verb which it accompanies has a particular meaning. They have said so, I think, in imitation of a class of Sanskrit grammarians who hold that *uṣasargas* or prepositions and the case-suffixes in Sanskrit are *dyōtaka* and not *vācaka*. For instance in *uṣakarōti* the element *uṣa* does not have any meaning of its own, but suggests that the root *kr* in *uṣakarōti* means to help, though it can have other meanings elsewhere. Similarly, the case-suffixes suggest that the base is an object to a verb, recipient, etc.

But I think that this is not quite consistent with the definition given by Tolkāppiyaṅār that *col* is that which has a meaning.<sup>1</sup> I have already said in 3.1 *supra* that Tolkāppiyaṅār seems to follow the opinion of the Sanskrit logicians. According to the latter even the *pratyayas* are *vācaka*. Besides, even those Sanskrit grammarians who think that *uṣasargas* and case-suffixes are *dyōtaka* take the verbal terminations to be *vācaka* and not *dyōtaka*.

If that be so, one may ask what the importance of the word 'tamakkiyalpila' in the sūtra Tol. Col. 249 is. It evidently suggests that *iṭai-c-col* does not have a separate existence of its own outside nouns or verbs or the sentence made up of nouns or verbs.

3.233. PARALLELS: The sentence 'iṭai-y-eṅappaṭuva peyaroṭum viṅaiyoṭum naṭaiṭeriyalum' in Tol. Col. 249 seems to find a parallel in 'uṣasargā viṅṣatirarthavācakāḥ sahētarābhyaṃ (R. V. P. 12.6). Here one may point out that the latter deals only with *uṣasarga*, while the former deals with

1. Ellā-c collum ṣoruḷ-kuri-t taṅa-v-ē. (Tol. Col. 155.)

*pratyayas* and all *nipātas*. But the expression 'sahētarābhyaṃ' is so beautifully translated by Tolkāppiyaṅār into 'peyarotum viṅaiyoṭum' that it may apply to all *pratyayas* and *nipātas*.

Besides it seems to me that Tolkāppiyaṅār in giving a list of *iṭai-c-col* with their meanings in *iṭai-y-iyal* may have had for his model the first chapter of Yāska's Nirukta where Yāska deals with *nipātas*. The following parallels may be noted:—

1. *ciraṅpoṭu* . . . *ōkārāmmē* (which means the particle *ō* is used to denote superiority.) Tol. Col. 256:  
*cil* . . . *pūjāyām* (Y. N. 33.12.) (*pūjā=ciraṅpū.*)
2. *ṭirinilai* . . . *ōkārāmmē* (which means the particle *ō* is used in *ṭirinilai.*) Tol. Col. 256:  
*aha iti ca ha iti ca vinigrahārthīyāu* (Y. N. 37.2.) (*vinigraha=ṭirinilai.*)
3. *antiḷ āṅku-v-acainilai-k-kilavi* (which means that the words *antiḷ, āṅka* are used simply to make up the quantity of the verse.) Tol. Col. 267:  
*athāṭi paḍapūraṅā idamu tadu* (Y. N. 37.4) (*paḍapūraṅa=acainilai-k-kilavi.*)

3.234. Prepositions in Tamil are very rare. That which approximates to it in early literature is *koṅ* in *koṅṅūr*. *Koṅṅūr* is mentioned by the author of the Pirayōkavivēkam as a compound having the *nipāta koṅ* as the first member.<sup>1</sup> It may be said to be similar in form to *uṣagrāmam* in Sanskrit. In the later periods the nouns like *kai* in *iṅaiyiliyūka-k-kai-k-koṅṅu* (S. I. I. iii, i, 44.6), *puṅam* in *puṅaṅ-koṅṅullāṅ* are considered as prepositions. (c. f. P. V. 45, comm.)

1. 'Koṅṅūr' eṅa avviyayo-pūva-patam-āy vanta avviyayi-pāvam-ākiya muṅ-moli-y-iṅai-c-col varum. (P.V. 23 comm.)

### 3.24. URI-C-COL.

3.241. *DEFINITION:* Tolkāppiyaṅār mentions in the sūtra

*Uri-c-coṟ kiḷavi virikkuṅ kōlai*  
*Icai-y-iṅuṅ kuṟiṅṅum paṅṅiṅum tōṅṅi-p*  
*Peyariṅum viṅaiyiṅu mey-taṭu māṟi*  
*Oru-coṟ pala-poruṭ k-urimai tōṅṅiṅum*  
*Pala-col l-oruṅoruṭ k-urimai tōṅṅiṅum*  
*Payilāta vaṅṅai-p payiṅṅavai cāṟṅi-t*  
*Tatta maraṅṅi ceṅṅu-nilai maruṅṅiṅ*  
*E-c-col l-ḍyiṅum poruṭ vēṅu-kiḷattal. (Tol. Col. 297.)*

that *uri-c-col* in its detailed significance denotes *icai*, *kuṟiṅṅu* and *paṅṅu*. Its form undergoes modification in nouns and verbs. It may have many meanings or it may have the same meaning as others of its kind and it is to be explained in literature by means of words ordinarily current in the world.

All the commentators of the Tolkāppiyam mistake that this sūtra defines *uri-c-col*. Cēṅāvaraiyar feeling that the statement 'that it has many meanings, etc.' is out of place in the sūtra dealing with definition, says that though the author states that it is used in nouns and verbs with its form modified, etc., it should be defined as that which denotes *icai*, *kuṟiṅṅu* and *paṅṅu*.<sup>1</sup> Teyvaccilaiyār says that, since Tolkāppiyaṅār has mentioned *uri-c-col* as *kuṟai-c-coṟ-kiḷavi* in *Eḷuttatikāram*, it is identical with *dhātu* in Sanskrit.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Mey-taṭu-māṟalum oru-coṟ pala-poruṭ-kuri-mai-y-um, pala-col oru-poruṭ-kurimaiyum uri-c-coṟkū unmaiyaṅ ḍiṅṅāṅṅum, uri-c-coṟkū ilakkaṅam-ḍvatu icai kuṟiṅṅu-p paṅṅum poruṭ-kuriyavāy varutalēyām. (Tol. Col. 297, Cēṅā.)*

2. *Eḷuttatikāṟattuḷ itaṅṅai kuṟai-c-coṟ-kiḷavi eṅṅū ḍiṅṅamai-yāl, vaṅṅai-ḍciriyaṅ tātū eṅṅū kuṟi-y-iṅṅa coṟkalē ivai-y-eṅṅū koḷḷappaṭum. (Tol. col. 292, Teyva.)*

The author of the Nēminātam summarises Tol. Col. 297 in N. N. Col. 56. The author of the Naṅṅūl defines that *uri-c-col* is that which is exclusively used in poetry, which cannot be separated from nouns and verbs and which denotes one *kuṇam* or quality or many qualities.<sup>1</sup> The author of the Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam reproduces the idea contained in Tol. Col. 297 with the modification that it is used either as *viṇai-p-pōli* (verb in imitation) and *peyar-p-pōli* (noun in imitation) or as the base of nouns or verbs and mentions in his commentary on the same that *karuṅṅi*, *civaṅṅi* are *peyar-p-pōli* and *uru*, *tava* are *viṇai-p-pōli* in the same way as Cēṅāvaraiyar has done under Tol. Col. 297. Besides, he states that there are some Tamil grammarians who hold that *uri-c-col* is mostly found in poetry.

It seems to me that Tol. Col. 297 does not deal with the definition of *uri-c-col*. If it deals with it, all the lines except the first two are out of place, as is suggested by Cēṅāvaraiyar. Its definition is suggested by the name *uri-c-col*. *Uri-c-col* does not mean the word belonging to only poetry as Naṅṅūlār thinks, nor the word denoting quality belonging to objects as Cēṅāvaraiyar and others think. It means the word denoting the independent part of a noun or verb; for the word *urimai* means 'right' and hence independence. Its nature in form is clearly expressed in the sūtra—

*Eluttu-p-pirin ticaitta l-ivaṅṅiyal p-inṅṅē.* (Tol. Col. 395.) which may be translated thus:—'It is not in its nature capable of being further analysed'. This and the word *kuṅṅai-c-col-kiḷavi* mentioned in the last but one sūtra of *Eluttatikāram* clearly suggest that *uri-c-col* is the root of nouns or verbs. It cannot be taken to be identical with Sanskrit *dhātu* as mentioned by Teyvaccilaiyār since *dhātu* is, according to the Sanskrit Grammarians, a verbal root and since Tolkāppiyaṅār has not suggested anywhere in his work that all nouns are derived from verbal roots. Teyvaccilaiyār seems to have said so thinking that Tol-

1. *Pal-vakai-p paṅṅum paḅar-peya r-āki*  
*Oru-kuṇam pala-kuṇan taḷuvi-p peyar-viṇai*  
*Oruvā ceyyuṅṅū uriyaṅa uri-c-col.* (Na. 442.)



kāppiyaṅār follows the theory of Śākaṭāyana and Nāiruktas that all nouns are derived from verbal roots.<sup>1</sup> But it seems to me that he follows the theory of Gārgya and another section of Sanskrit grammarians who hold that it is not necessary that all nouns should have been derived from verbal roots.<sup>2</sup> The chief reason for the latter view is that neither Tolkāppiyaṅār nor the later grammarians have attempted to derive all nouns from verbal roots. Hence *uri-c-col* may be taken as the nominal or verbal root

3.242. *NATURE OF URI-C-COL*: If so, what is the purpose served by Tol. Col. 297? I may say that it explains it. The part '*icaiyiyum kuṛippiyum paṅṅiyum tōṅṅi*' means 'used to denote *icai* (sound) *kuṛippū* (feeling) and *paṅṅū* (*jāti*—genus *guṇa*—quality or *kriyā*—action)'. The part '*orucol palaṅṅorūṅ kurimai tōṅṅiyum*' means 'though the same root can have different meanings'. The part '*palaṅṅ oruṅṅ kurimai tōṅṅiyum*' means 'though different roots are used in the same sense'. The part '*payilātavaṅṅai paṅṅṅavaṅṅai cāṅṅi . . . kiṅṅat*' means 'one should explain the meaning of the root which is not current by one which is current'.

3.243. *URI-Y-IYAL IN TOLKĀPPIYAM AND YĀSKA'S NIRUKTA*: A close examination of the first sūtra in this section (*uri-y-iyal*) and those that follow, and the second, third and fourth chapters of Yāska's Nirukta shows that Tolkāppiyaṅār may have had Nirukta for his model. The portion '*orucol palaṅṅorūṅ kurimai tōṅṅiyum*' has a parallel in '*ēkārtham anēkaśabdām ityētaduktam* (Y. N. 265.1)'. The portion '*palaṅṅ oruṅṅ kurimai tōṅṅiyum*' has a parallel in '*atha yānyanēkārthāni ēkaśabdāni tānyatō anukramiṣyāmaḥ* (Y. N. 266.2)'. The expression '*payilātavaṅṅai*' has a parallel in '*anavagatasamśkārān ca nigamān* (Y. N. 266.3). The expression '*veṅṅṅai collē*' has a parallel in '*samvijñātāni tāni*' in the sentence '*tadyatra*

1. *Tatra nāmāni ākhyātajāniti Śākaṭāyanō nairukta-samayaś ca.* (Y.N. 56, 2.)

2. *Na sarvāṅi ity ēva gārgyō vāiyakaraṅṅānāṅ cāikē.*

(Y. N. 56, 3.)

*svarasaṁskārāu samarthāu prādeśikena guṇena anvitāu syātām saṁvijñātāni tāni* ' (Y. N. 56.4).

The list of *uri-c-col* given by Tolkāppiyaṅār may be divided into that which deals with verbal roots and that which deals with nominal roots. For instance, the words *vārtai*, *pōkal*, *lirttai* etc., in Tol. Col. 317 & 318 denotes only the verbal roots *vār*, *pō*, *lir* exactly in the same way as *āvayati*, *bhavati*, *vēti*, etc. given in Y.N. page 195, *rēlatē*, *hēlatē*, etc., in page 197 of the same, etc. The words *viḷumam*, *cīrmai*, *karuvi* mentioned in Tol. Col. 353 and 354 are similar to *mahat*, *budhnaḥ*, etc. given in Y. N. page 213. But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that Tolkāppiyaṅār does not seem to have incorporated in Tamil grammar the theory of the Nāiruktas that all nouns are derived from verbal roots.

It may be interesting to note that the Tamil word *uṟu* found in the sūtra '*uṟu tava nani . . mikuli ceyyum poruḷa*' (Tol. Col. 299) and the Sanskrit word *uru* in '*uru tuvi puru . . . iti dvādaśa bahunāmāni* (Y.N. 212.1) both head the list of words having the sense 'much'. The Tamil grammarians have not been able to satisfactorily explain the derivation of the Tamil '*uṟu*' and the Tamil '*tava*' in the sense of 'much'. But a consideration of the Nirukta parallel indicated above (*uru tuvi . .*) might help any one in equating the Tamil *uṟu* and *tava* in the sense of 'much' with Sanskrit *uru* and *tuvi* in the same sense, and in appreciating the correspondence between the two sets of words both on the phonological and semantic sides. The way in which Tolkāppiyaṅār frames a list of words whose derivation cannot be ascertained—such as *nani*, *kaṭi*—is very similar to the manner in which Yāska frames a list of *asaṁvijñāta* words like *jahā*, *nidhā*, etc. in pp. 267 and 269 of the Nirukta.

Besides, Tolkāppiyaṅār first gives the list of roots which have the same meaning and then only roots which have different meanings. In Nirukta too, list of words having the same meaning is given in the second and third chapters and the list of those having different meanings is given in the fourth and fifth chapters.

On considering the above points, it may be clear that Tol. Col. 294 does not deal with the definition of *Uri-c-col*. The statement of Naṅṅūlār that it is used only in poetry was made on account of the mistaken notion that only the words like *uru*, *tava*, *naṅi*, etc. whose derivation is believed to be obscure are *uri-c-col*. He seems to have failed to note the sūtra '*veḷip̄paṭu collē kiḷattal vēṅṅā, veḷip̄paṭa vārā uricconmēṅa*' (Tol. Col. 298) which means that the *uri-c-col* which are in use are not mentioned here and only those which are not in use, are mentioned.

I really wonder how Cēṅāvaraiyar and the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* countenance the opinion of Naṅṅūlār that *uri-c-col* is found only in poetry as an alternative theory. The reason for this, it seems to me, is that they may have mistaken *viḷumam*, *cīrmai*, etc. mentioned in Tol. Col. 353 for noun forms, since they say that *karup̄p̄ū*, *cīvaḷp̄p̄ū*, etc. are *peyar-p-pōli* while such forms evidently represent nominal roots as explained above.

From the above arguments one can very well see that it would not be correct to say that all words are *uri-c-col*, as the author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* has said in one place (P. V, 18, comm. p. 31.) or to include it in *iḷai-c-col* as the same grammarian has done in another place (P. V. 42, comm.); nor would it be correct to define *uri-c-col* as 'one of a few indeclinables which always have the force of adjective or adverb<sup>1</sup>.

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1. T. L. p. 441.

#### 4. WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUNDS.

4-1. *WORD-FORMATION*: It seems to me that according to Tolkāppiyaṅār that words, generally nouns and verbs, are formed by suffixing one or more *iṭai-c-col* to *uri-c-col*, as *kariyaṅ*, *kariya*], etc. or by suffixing *iṭai-c-col* to nouns or verbs as *valaiyaṅ*, *uṇṇēṇai*, etc.

The author of the *Viracōliyam*, in imitation of Pāṇini's grammar, names the suffixes that are added to words as *taddhita* and gives their list in V. Tat. 1, 4 and 5. They are *aṅ*, *iyaṅ*, *īyaṅ*, *ēyaṅ*, etc.; *mai*, *am*, *pu*, *tu*, *vu*, *kam*, etc.; and *acci*, *āṭṭi*, *aṅi*, *ātti*, *āḷ*, *aḷ*, *i*, etc. The examples given by the commentator for the same are *valaiyaṅ*, *vēḷiyaṅ*, *kulīṇan*, *vaiṇatēyaṅ*, etc.; *valimai*, *nilam*, *melippū*, *valitū*, *melivu*, *kuṟukkam*, etc.; *paṟaicci*, *veḷḷāṭṭi*, *pārppaṅi*, *vannātti*, etc. Here an unnecessary mixing-up of Sanskrit *taddhita pratyayas* and Tamil *pratyayas* has been done; for instance, *īya* in *kulīṇa* and *ēya* in *vaiṇatēya* are Sanskrit *pratyayas*; the *pratyayas* given in V. Tat. 4 are strictly speaking *ḷṭi pratyayas*; but the author of the *Viracōliyam* seems to take it that *valimai*, *kuṟukkam*, etc. are formed from the nouns *vali*, *kuṟu*, etc., which, in his opinion, are formed from the roots *val*, *kuṟ*, etc. But we do not find such verbal forms as *val* and *kuṟ*. As regards the third list the same confusion is made. The Sanskrit word *brāhmaṇastrī*, if Tamilised, becomes *pārppaṅatti* and *pārppaṅacci*. Hence *acci* and *atti* are not, strictly speaking, suffixes. The word *vannātti* is evidently formed from *vannāṅ + attu* (*cāriyai*) + *i*, where the *ṅ* of *vannāṅ* is dropped. Hence all the suffixes noted in V. Tat. 5 could be brought under *i*, *aḷ* and *āḷ*. Similarly he makes mention of *ḷṭi pratyayas* in V. Tat. 3 and 4.

He forms the nominative case of nouns by adding *cu* and then dropping it, in direct imitation of Pāṇini's grammar.

Nanṇūlār takes the forms *naṭa*, *vā*, etc. as the roots like the author of the *Viracōḷiyam*;<sup>1</sup> but does not agree that *cemmai*, *cīrumai*, etc. are derived from verbs, but says that they are *pakāppatam* or indivisible words.

According to him, the case-forms of nouns are formed by adding case-suffixes to nouns or participial nouns, e.g. *kaṇṇaṇai*, *ṭōṇṇai*; *cāriyai* may be inserted before the case-suffix; the verbal forms are formed by adding the tense sign followed by the personal terminations to the roots in general.

All the later grammarians follow Nanṇūlār<sup>2</sup> except the author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, who follows the author of the *Viracōḷiyam*. The parallelism between V. Tāt. 2 and 3 and P. V. 31 and 32 is striking. He divides *tattitaṅ* into three as *cāmāniya-tattitaṅ*, *avviyatattitaṅ*, and *pāvatattitaṅ*<sup>3</sup>, and enumerates them in P. V. 30 to 34. The difference between the author of the *Viracōḷiyam* and that of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* is that the latter does not mix the Tamil suffixes with Sanskrit suffixes though he imports the Sanskritic technical terms.

4.2. COMPOUNDS: 4.21. MEANING OF THE WORD 'TOKAI': The word that is chosen by Tolkāppiyaṅār to denote compounds is *tokai*. The word *tokai* is derived from the root 'toku' which means to elide and also to join together. Cēṇā-

1. *Manniya-cir-vaṭa nūliṅ-cara-paca v-erū-vantū*  
*Tuṇṇiya-tātu-k kaḷiṅ-pōli-pōla-t toku-tamiḷkkum*  
*Panniya-tātu-k kaḷai-p-paṭaittu-k-koḷka muṅṅilaiyiṅ*  
*Uṇṇiya-v-ēva l-orumai-c-cor-pōṇṇula kiṅkokkavē.*  
 (V. Tāt. 1.)
2. *Naṭa-vā maṭi-cī viṭu-kū vē-vai*  
*No-p-pō vau-v-urī nūṅ-porun tirun-tiṅ*  
*Tēy-pār celvav vāḷ-kē ḷ-a.kenrū*  
*Inṇavai mutala v-ellā viṅaiyun*  
*Terinilai viṅaiyiṅ mutaiṅilai y-ākum.* (I. V. 43)  
*Naṭa, vā, uṅ, tiṅ ittoṭakkattōṅa viṅai-p-pakā-p-patam.*  
 (ibid. 40, comm.)
3. *Cāmā niyam-av viyam-pāva mūṅṅeṅa-t tattitaṅ-vērū*  
 ..... (P. V. 30.)

varaiyar<sup>1</sup> mentions that there are two schools of interpretation of the word *tokai*; one adopts the first meaning of the root *toku* and thinks that *tokai* is that where the case-suffixes, the particle *um*, the particles of comparison, the ending of *paṇṇu-ṣ-ṣeyar* and the ending of verbs are dropped and the other adopts the second meaning and thinks that *tokai* is that in which two or more words are joined together. He belongs to the latter school and condemns the former school for the following two reasons:— (1) According to their interpretation even the expressions *ceytāṅ ṣoruḷ* and *iruntāṅ māṣattū* would become *tokai* since the case-suffixes *ai* and *kaṅ* have been respectively dropped after the words *ṣoruḷ* and *māṣattū*. (2) Even those who hold the former theory cannot but accept the unitary nature of a compound. These two reasons cannot stand if *tokai* is taken to be that in which two or more words are joined together by dropping case-suffixes, etc. Besides, Tolkāppiyaṅār himself describes the unitary nature of compounds in the sūtra

*Eilā-t tokai-y-u m-oru-con paṭaiya.* (Tol. Col. 420.)

and dropping of case-suffixes, etc., in the sūtra

*Paṇṇu-toka varūn kiḷavi y-āṅum*

*Ummai tokka ṣeyar-vayi ṅ-āṅum*

*Vēṅṅumai tokka ṣeyar-vayi ṅ-āṅum*

*Iṅṅu-niṅ ṅiyalu m-aṅmolī-t tokai-y-ē.* (Tol. Col. 418.)

where he deals with *aṅmolittokai* or *bahuvrīhi* compound. Hence the choice of the word '*tokai*' shows the genius of Tolkāppiyaṅār. It may be very interesting to note here that the Sanskrit name '*samāsa*' also, while it explicitly refers to composition, also implicitly conveys the idea of curtailment as may be seen from the contrast between the Sanskrit words *vyāsa* and *samāsa*. The interpretation of the word *tokai* by Cēṅavaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyar is possibly based upon the obvious meaning

1. *Vēṅṅumai-y-urupum uvama-v-urupum um-m-aiyum viṅai-c-col-l-iṅum paṇṇu-c-col-l-iṅum tokutaliṅ tokai-y-āyiga v-eṅpārum, a-v-v-a-ṣ-ṣoruṅmēl iraṅṅum palavum-ākiya corkaḷ ṣiḷavu-paṭātū oṅṅumai-ṣ-paṭa-t tam-m-uḷ-ivaitaliṅ tokai-y-āyiga v-eṅpārum-eṅa irutiṅattār āciriyaṅ.* (Tol. Col. 412, Cēṅā.)

of the word *samāsa* (composition). Though Teyvaccilaiyār gives this interpretation of *tokai* under Tol. Col. 412, he takes into consideration the other meaning also in the word *tokku* in *paṇṇu toka* . . . (Tol. Col. 418).

The author of the *Viracōliyam*, though he takes *tokai* to correspond to the term *samāsa*, (composition) clearly mentions the elision of case-suffixes, etc. in the former member of the compound (V. T. 1). The author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, on the other hand, says that he agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyār and repeats the reasons assigned by him (P. V. 19, comm. p. 34).

4.22. *ENUMERATION OF COMPOUNDS AND THEIR NATURE*.—Tolkāppiyāṇār classifies compounds under six heads<sup>1</sup>:—*Vēṇṇumai-t-tokai*, *uvamai-t-tokai*, *viṇai-t-tokai*, *paṇṇu-t-tokai*, *ummai-t-tokai* and *aṇṇoli-t-tokai*. *Vēṇṇumaittokai*<sup>2</sup> is that in which the members which form the compound stand in case-relation to each other as *poṇ-kuṭam* (gold-pot). It corresponds to *tatpuruṣa* in Sanskrit. *Uvamai-t-tokai*<sup>3</sup> is that in which one member is compared to another as *poṇ-mēṇi* (gold-appearance). It corresponds to *upamāna-pūrvapada-karma-dhāraya*. *Viṇai-t-tokai*<sup>4</sup> is that in which the first member is a relative participle denoting time and the second member is the noun which it qualifies as *kol-yāṇai* (elephant that kills, killed or will kill). It corresponds to a part of *viśeṣaṇa-pūrvapada-karma-dhāraya*. *Paṇṇu-t-t-tokai*<sup>5</sup> is that in which the first member is generally a quality denoting colour, shape, extent, taste etc., and

1. *Vēṇṇumai-t tokai-y-ē y-uvama-t tokai-y-ē*  
*Viṇai-y-iṇ rokai-y-ē paṇṇu rokai-y-ē*  
*Ummāi-t tokai-y-ē y-aṇṇoli-t tokai-y-eṇṇū*  
*A-v-v-a ṇ-eṇṇa tokai-moli nilai-y-ē.* (Tol. Col. 412.)
2. *Vēṇṇumai-t tokai-y-ē vēṇṇumai y-iyala.* (ibid. 413.)
3. *Uvama-t tokai-y-ē y-uvama v-iyala.* (ibid. 414.)
4. *Viṇai-y-iṇ rokuti kāla-t t-iyalum.* (ibid. 415.)
5. *Vanṇattiy vaṇivi ṇ-aṇṇi cuvai-y-iṇ-eṇṇū*  
*Aṇṇa pīravu m-atay-kūṇa nutali*  
*Iṇṇa t-itu-v-eṇṇa varū m-iyarkai*  
*Eṇṇa kilaviyum paṇṇu rokai-y-ē.* (ibid. 416.)



the second a noun which has that quality as *karuñ-kutirai* (black horse). This also corresponds to a part of *viśeṣaṇa-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya*. *Ummāi-t-tokai*<sup>1</sup> is that in which each has two or more members, the members being connected with one another by 'and' and denoting persons, measures, numbers, weights etc., as *puli-viṭ-keṇṭai* (tiger, bow and *keṇṭai* fish) etc. It corresponds to *dvandva* in Sanskrit. *Aṇṇoli-t-tokai*<sup>2</sup> is the possessive compound, the members of which may stand to each other in any of the three relations—quality-noun relation, conjunctive relation, and case-relation. It corresponds to *bahuvrīhi* in Sanskrit.

It may be noted here that the *number* of compounds in Tamil agree with that of *primary* compounds in Sanskrit and the names given to them in Tamil are more suggestive of their function than those in Sanskrit. These compounds are treated in syntax as though they are single words.<sup>3</sup>

The above classification of Tolkāppiyāṇār is fairly exhaustive; but such compounds as *karu-niṇam*, *cārai-p-pāmpū*, where both the members are either qualities or names which denote the genus and species of the same object, are not taken into account; but Cēṇāvaraiyar explains in his commentary on the same sūtra that they too are *paṇṇū-t-tokai*, on the strength of the expression *eṇṇa-kiḷaviyūm*, which means 'similar words', in the sūtra.

All the later grammarians, except the authors of the *Vīra-cōliyam* and the *Pirayōkavivēkam*, i. e., the authors of the *Nēminātam*, the *Naṇṇūl*, the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and the *Ilakkaṇak-kottū* agree, as regards the classification of compounds, with

1. *Iru-peyar pala-peya r-aḷaviṅ peyarē*  
*Eṇ-ṇ-iyar peyarē niṇai-p-peyar-k kiḷavi*  
*Eṇ-ṇ-iṅ peyarō t-a-v-v-aṅu kiḷaviyūm*  
*Kaṇṇiya nilaittē y-ummai-t tokai-y-ē.* (ibid. 417.)
2. *Paṇṇu toka-varūṇi kiḷavi y-aṅum*  
*Ummāi tokka peyar-vayi ṅ-aṅum*  
*Vērrumai tokka peyar-vayi ṅ-aṅum*  
*Iṅṅu-niṅ riyalu m-aṇṇoli-t tokai-y-ē.* (ibid. 418.)
3. *Ellā-t tokai-y-u m-oru-coṅ paṭaiya.* (ibid. 420.)

Tolkāppiyānār. And Naṅṅūlār tries to improve upon Tolkāppiyānār as regards the definition of paṅpu-t-tokai<sup>1</sup> so that it may apply to compounds like *karu-nīyam*, *cārai-p-pāmpū* etc.

But the author of the *Viracōḷiyam* saw that a large number of Sanskrit compounds like *anīti*, *anittiyam* etc., were freely used in Tamil and they, along with some Tamil compounds like *karu-nīyam*, *paṅṅiru-toḷi*, *teṅ-kilakkū*, could not be directly explained with the rules on compounds stated by Tolkāppiyānār. Hence he began to classify them exactly in the same way as is done in Sanskrit; *taṅpuruṭaṅ* (tatpuruṣa), *paḷa-neḷ* (bahuvrīhi), *kaṅmalārayam* (karmadhāraya), *tuviḷu* (dvigu), *tuvaṅtuvaṅ* (dvandva) and *avviya-pāva* (avyayibhāva).<sup>2</sup> Some may say that he might have left out *avviya-pāva* since examples for it are very rare; it is true, but such words as *yatākkiramam*, the tadbhava of Skt. *yathākrama*, are sometimes found and they have to be explained.

The most important point to be noted in the *Viracōḷiyam*, as also in the *Pirayōkavivēkam* whose author closely follows that of the *Viracōḷiyam* with some difference here and there, is that most of the stanzas found in the chapter dealing with compounds (*tokai-p-paṭalam*), in both are exactly the translation of the kārīkās on *saṁśa* assigned to the authorship of Vararuci in Sanskrit. They are as follows:—

- (1) *Ṣoḍhā saṁśāḷ saṅkṣēpāt ēkatrīṁśadvidhāḷ paṅṅaḷ |*  
*Tatrōṣṭadhā taṅpuruṣaḷ sapṭadhā karma-dhārayaḷ ||*  
*Sapṭadhā ca bahuvrīhiḷ dvigur-ābhāṣitō dvidhā |*  
*Dvandvaṣcatur-vidhō jñēyōavyayībhāvastridhā mataḷ ||*  
 (Var. Kār.)

*Taṅpuruṭaṅ-paḷa neṅ-kaṅma tūrayaṅ tāṅkiya-cīr*  
*Naṅ-ṅuviku-t-tokai nāvūr-tuvaṅtuva nalla-ḷeyva-c*

1. *Paṅṅai viḷakkum moḷi-tok kaṅavum*  
*Oru-poruḷku iru-payar vantaṅvum kuṅa-t-tokai.*  
 (Na. 365).

2. V. T. 2.  
 27

*Coṟ-ṭayaṅ-māntarka l-avviyaṭāva m-ileṅṅu-toṅmai*  
*Kaṟṭakam-ā-ṭ-ṭakarn tār-tokai-y-āṅṅū kaṅaṅkuḷaiyē.*

(V. T. 2.)

*Taṟṭuruṭaṅ-ṅuvi ku-ṭ-ṭala neṅ-karma tārayaṅḍōṭṭu*  
*Uṟṭala vāṅṅēṭṭū kaṭ-ṭacun tē-moḷi y-oṅṅōṭṭiyāy*  
*Coṟ-ṭayi l-avvi yayiṭāva m-ēṅṅai-l tuvantay-ēṅa-k*  
*Kaṟṭavar kūṅṅū camācaṅ-ka lē-tokai-k kaṭṭaḷai-y-ē.*

(P. V. 20.)

- (2) *Taṭṭuruṣō' ṣṭa-vidhō' bhūl prathamādi-vibhakti-nañ-*  
*kytāir-bhēdāiḥ |*  
*Sa caikavadbhāyanēkavadbhāvīti dvidhā dviguḥ ||*  
 (Var. Kār.)

*Eḷuvāy-mutal-eḷu vēṅṅumaiyōṭṭu m-eḷvutaṭaiyil*  
*Vaḷuvālanāñṅōṭṭeṭ ṭ-ān-taṟṭuruṭaṅ vaḷar-tuviku*  
*Taḷuvārnta-veṅṅmoḷi muṅṅāy-varun tattila-ṭ-ṭoruṅ-mēl*  
*Kuḷuvār-orumaiy-oṭ ṭu-ṭ-ṭaymai-y-oṭṭu-k kuṟi-y-iraṅṅē-*  
 (V. T. 3.)

*Taṟṭuru ṭa-t-tokai vēṅṅumai y-eḷṭaṅṅē cārnta nañṅū-c*  
*Coṟ-ṭoru l-aṅṅmai maṅṅai-y-iṅṅmai kūṭṭun tokai-t-tuviku*  
*Muṟṭala m-eṅ-ṭiṟ ṭalan-tattitārnta muṭittumēḷūm*  
*Paṟṭala v-ēkavar ṭāvi-y-a nēkavar ṭāvi-y-eṅṅē.* (P. V. 21.)

- (3) *Saṭṭabhirākhyābhir-vā vikhyātō yassavāi bahuvrīhiḥ |*  
*Dvābhyām ṭadābhyām bahubhiḥ ṭadāir vā*  
*Saṅkhyābhīdhāyanṭyaṭadam dvayam vā |*  
*Yasyābhavaiṭpūrvaṭadē sahaśca*  
*Digantarāla-ṟyatihāvalakṣmā||* (Var. Kār.)

*Irumoḷi-ṭaymoḷi ṭiṅmoḷi y-eṅṅōṭṭ-irumoḷi-y-eṅ*  
*Maruvum-vitiyā r-ilakkaṅamaṅṅai-c caka-muṅṅmoḷi*  
*Paravun-tikantarā ṭa-t-tokai-y-aṅṅa-ṭ ṭalanerṅokai*  
*Viriyum-ōr-ēḷ-avaṅ vēṅṅu-moḷi-ṭ ṭoruṅ-mel-l-iyalē.*  
 (V. T. 4.)

*Irumoḷi ṭay-moḷi ṭiṅ-moḷi y-eṅṅō ṭ-irumoḷi-y-eṅ*  
*ṭaru-moḷi y-oṅṅoḷi tikkan tarāḷaṅ caka-muṅṅirum*  
*Oru-moḷi y-ēṅṅai-vili kāra-lakkaṅattōṭṭu varum*  
*Peru-moḷi y-āki-veku viriyay moḷi-ṭ-ṭē r-aṭaintē.*

(P. V. 24.)

- (4) *Kavibhissapta-vidhassyādityēvam karma-dhārayaḥ*  
*Viśeṣaṇam pūrva-padē viśeṣyam tathōbhayaatrāpi*  
*Yasyōpamānam paratas-tadādāu sambhāvanā cā-*  
*pyavadhāraṇā ca || (Var. Kār.)*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-p-ṣaṇṣu m-iru-moḷi-p-ṣaṇṣu m-olintamaina*  
*Piṇ-moḷi-y-oppoṭu muṇ-moḷi-y-oppuṇ ṣiṇakkon-ṟilā*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-naṟ-karut tum-muṇ-moḷi-narṟuṇivum-eṇa*  
*Naṇ-moḷi-y-ār-kaṇma tārayam-ōṟeṇṇa nāṭṭiyarē. (V.T. 5.)*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-p ṣaṇṣiru ṣaṇṣu vicēṭiya muṇ-moḷi-taṇ*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-t tulliyam ṣiṇ-moḷi-t tulliya moy-kuḷalāy*  
*Muṇ-moḷi-c camṣā vaṇai-y-ava tāraṇa muṟṟum-ivaī*  
*Naṇ-moḷi-p ṣaṇṣu-t tokai-k kaṇma tārayaṇarṟamillkē.*  
 (P. V. 22.)

Here the author of the *Viracōliyam* omitted the class where the noun qualified by the adjective stands as the first member of the compound (*viśeṣya-pūrvapadaḥ*) since, perhaps, it was difficult to him to find an example for it in Tamil language; and hence he stated that *kaṇmatārayam* is of 6 kinds, instead of 7 as found in Sanskrit. But the author of the *Pirayōkavivēkam* has included it also and gives *Teyva-p-pulavaṇ-ṟiruvalluvuṇ* as an example for it.

- (5) *Yatravyayam pūrva-padam yathā vā*  
*Subantamāhō dvilayam subantam |*  
*Pūrvō'pi mukhyō bahuśaḥ padārthaḥ*  
*Tathavyayibhāvam iṣṭrayanti||*  
*Sa hi drandvaścaturdhāṣyāt budhāir-iti viniścītaḥ |*  
*Itarētarayōgāḥkhyāḥ samāhārāhvayas tathā. || (Var. Kār.)*  
*1Muṇ-moḷi-y-avviyaṇ-cēṟ tokai pēr-muṇ moḷi-t-tokaiyē*  
*Coṇ-moḷi-y-avviya pōvamaruvum tuvantuvamum*  
*Vaṇ-moḷi-y-ām-ita rēlaram-vūynta camā-kāram-ām*  
*Naṇ-moḷi-y-ōṇ-urait tārka-camāca naṟu-mulalē. (V. T. 6.)*

1. He has not mentioned that class of *avyayibhāva* where the members are nouns, as *madhyē'gāram* since such words have not been taken into Tamil language.

*Muṅ-moḷi-p pēr-c-co l-iṭai-c-co l-iraṅṅu muraṅi-niṅkum*  
*Tay moḷi y-avvi yayiṭṭāva m-ummai-c cakārattilē*  
*lṅ-moḷi-t tonlay<sup>1</sup> camākārāt tōṭita rētarāmām*  
*An-moḷi-t tōṅṅamuñ camuccayat tōṅu-maṅ vācayamē.*

(P. V. 23.)

- (6) *Tatpuruṣō' aṣṭa-vidhō' bhūt.....|*  
*Uttara-pada-janītārthaḥ prāyō mukhyaḥ.....||*  
*.....dviguḥ|*  
*Asyāpi paṇḍitair-antar-bhōvas tatpuruṣō mataḥ ||*  
*.....karmadhārayaḥ kathitaḥ |*  
*Tatpuruṣāntarbhāvāt tadvad*  
*Prādhānyam īritam cāsyā ||*  
*Prādhānyam prāyaśō' smin*  
*Ubhayōs syāt padārthayōḥ |*  
*Sa hi dvandvaḥ.....||*  
*Tatpuruṣaṅ yuvi ku-k-karma tārayaṅ rāmutaṅmai*  
*Piṭṭata m-ām-clu vūy-ā m-orū-t-lokai peṅ-ṅ-aṅaṅkē*  
*Muṭṭata m-avvi yayiṭṭāva m-oppu-muṭṭai piṭṭalum*  
*Coṭ-patan tokkavai y-ellā mutaiṅmai tuvantaṅukkē.*

(P. V. 25.)

The statement 'avyayībhāvamoppu-muṭṭai piṭṭalum' which means that the relative importance of the first or second member in *avyayībhāva* and *uṣamīlasamāsa* will change, is made on the strength of the words *prāyaḥ* and *bahuśaḥ* in *uttara-pada-janītārthaḥ prāyō mukhyaḥ* and *pūrvō'pi mukhyaḥ bahuśaḥ padārthaḥ* respectively. The author of the *Vīracōḷiyam*, having dealt with this classification of compounds in 5 stanzas, mentions also the classification made by *Tolkāppiyaṅār* as the opinion of a class of Tamilians.

The only point of difference between these two kinds of classification is only with respect to *avyayībhāva* and *nañtatpuruṣa*, since other *tatpuruṣas*, *dvandva* and *bahuvrīhi* are identically the same as *vēṅṅumaittokai*, *ummaittokai* and *aṅmoḷittokai*, though with different names, and *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu* may some-

1. cf. Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣit's vṛtti on 'cārthē dvandvaḥ'—  
 'samuccaya-avvācaya-itarētarayōga-samāhārāḥ cārthāḥ.

how or other be brought under *uvamattokai*, *viṅaittokai* and *paṅputtokai*.

4.23. Here I want to deal further with the difference of opinion among the commentators of Tolkāppiyam and Naṅṅūlar regarding *viṅai-t-tokai* and *paṅpu-t-tokai* and whether the expression *nīlañ kaṭantāy* is a *tokai* or not.

4.231. As regards *viṅaittokai*, Ḥampūraṇar, Teyvaccuayār and Naccinārkkiniyar think, that when a present, past, or future, participle like *kollum* or *koṅṅa* is compounded with a noun like *yāṅai*, the participial suffix is dropped and they become *kol-yāṅai*. Hence the word *kol-yāṅai* means 'elephant that kills, that killed or that will kill'. But Cēṅāvaraiyar is of opinion that *kol-yāṅai* is compounded of the root *kol* with *yāṅai* and it cannot be dissolved into *koṅṅa yāṅai*, *kollukiṅṅa* or *kollum yāṅai*. The interpretation of the latter seems to be unsound, since Tolkāppiyaṅār in his sūtra says that *viṅaittokai* shows time.<sup>1</sup> The reasons adduced by him in support of his statement do not seem to be sound. He has done so, since perhaps he took the expressions like *kol-yāṅai* as a case of *nītyasamāsa* like the word *kumbhakāra* mentioned by Dharmakīrti in Vol. I, p. 181 of his Rūpāvātāra. But it seems to me that it is against the views of Tolkāppiyaṅār. Naṅṅūlar agrees with Ḥampūraṇar, while the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkum* agrees with Cēṅāvaraiyar and repeats his arguments. (I. V. 338, Comm.)

4.232. As regards *paṅpu-t-tokai*, Cēṅāvaraiyar thinks that the words like *karuṅkutirai* cannot be dissolved into *kariyatū ākiya kutirai* in the same way as in *viṅai-t-tokai* perhaps for the same reason. This too is against the views of Tolkāppiyaṅār since, in the sūtra, he says '*iṅṅatū itu eṅa*' (Tol. Col. 416). Naṅṅūlar seems to think that *karumai + kutirai* becomes *karuṅkutirai*,<sup>2</sup> while Tolkāppiyaṅār thinks that *kariyatū + kutirai* becomes so. Naṅṅūlar's view does not seem to be sound since the

1. *Viṅaiyiy rokuti kālat t-iyalum*. (Tol. Col. 415.)

2. *Paṅpai viḷakkum moḷi-tok kaṅavum*

*Oru-ṅoruṅku iruṅṅeyar vantavum kuṅa-t-tokai*. (Na. 365.)

expression 'karumai ākiya kutirai' cannot convey any sense since *karumai* and *kutirai* cannot be appositional, *karumai* denoting quality and *kutirai* denoting object. The author of the *Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam* agrees with Cēṇāvaraiyar (I. V. 339, Comm.).

4.233. IS 'NILAṆ KAṬANTĀṆ' WHICH MEANS 'HE CROSSED THE GROUND', A COMPOUND OR NOT? All commentators of *Tolkāppiyam*, except Cēṇāvaraiyar and his followers think that *nilaṅ kaṭantāṅ*, when it means "he crossed the ground," is not a compound, but a sentence consisting of two words *nilam* and *kaṭantāṅ* where *nilam* is the object of the verb *kaṭantāṅ* and it has its suffix dropped according to Tol. Col. 103. When it means "one who has crossed the ground," evidently it is a compound. But Cēṇāvaraiyar is very obstinate in considering it a compound.<sup>1</sup> The reason he adduces in support of his opinion is that in Tol. E. 133, *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has stated that a noun which has its case-suffix dropped is combined with the following verb so as to form a compound. *Ḵampūraṇar* gives a different interpretation to the same. The lines under consideration are

*Peyarum toḷilum pīrintoruṅku icaiḷḷa*  
*Vēṟṟumai y-urupu nilaiḷḷeṟu vaḷiyum*  
*Tōṟṟam vēṇṭā-t tokuti-k kaṇṇum...*

The literal translation of these is as follows :—Noun and verb used separately or together, either with the case suffix of the noun expressed or dropped. *Ḵampūraṇar* interprets these lines thus :—*Peyarum toḷilum vēṟṟumai yurupu nilaiḷḷeṟu vaḷiyum, tōṟṟam vēṇṭāt tokutik kaṇṇum pīrinticaiḷḷa*, and *peyarum toḷilum vēṟṟumai yurupu nilai ḷḷeṟu vaḷiyum tōṟṟam vēṇṭāt tokutik kaṇṇum oruṅkicaiḷḷa*, which may be translated thus :—When a noun with, or without, a case-suffix is followed by a verb and is treated as a separate word and when a noun with, or without, a case-

1. Nilaṅ-kaṭantāṅ, kuṅṟattiruntāṅ eṅa-p-peyarum viṇaiyun tokkana oru-coṅṅirmai-y-ila-v-ākaliṅ tokai-y-eṅappaṭā v-eṅ-pārum-uḷar... vēṟṟumai-y-urupir roka-p-peyarum toḷilum oruṅkicaiḷḷa ācīriyar nērentār-ākaliṅ, avai tokai-y-ēṇavē paṭum. (Tol. Col. 420, Cēṇā.)



suffix is followed by a verbal noun and is treated as a part of a compound of which the verbal noun forms the second part—According to his interpretation, *nilattai-k kaṭantāy* and *nilaṅ kaṭantāy* are each *two separate words* when *kaṭantāy* is a *finite verb*, and *nilattai-k-kaṭantāy* and *nilaṅ-kaṭantāy* are *COMPOUND WORDS* when *kaṭantāy* is a *participial noun*.

Cēṅāvaraiyar interprets the same sūtra thus:—*peyarum toḷilum vēṅṅumai y-uruṅṅu nilai peṅṅu vaḷiyum pīrinticaiṅṅa, peyarum toḷilum tōṅṅam vēṅṅā-l tokuti-k kaṅṅum oruṅṅicaiṅṅa*, which may be translated thus:—when a noun with a case-suffix is separate from the verb which it follows, and when without case-suffix, it is treated as a part of the compound—(i.e.) He takes 'pīrintū' with the second line of the sūtra and 'oruṅṅū' with the third line unlike Ḥampūraṅṅar who takes both the second and third lines with both *pīrintū* and *oruṅṅū*. Besides, Cēṅāvaraiyar seems to think that the word *tokuti* in the third line means compound, since the same word in the sūtra '*Viṅṅai-y-iṅṅ rokuti kālat tiyalum*' (Tol. Col. 415) has that meaning. But the author has not used that word in that sense alone in the whole of his work. For he has used also in the sense of *number* according to Cēṅāvaraiyar and *collection* according to Ḥampūraṅṅar in the sūtra,

*Ḥṅaitteṅṅa aṅṅinta viṅṅai-mutaṅṅ kiḷavikkū*

*Viṅṅai-p-ṅaṅṅu tokuti-y-iṅṅ-ummai vēṅṅum* (Tol. Col. 33).

It is a wonder to me why Cēṅāvaraiyar says so in spite of the fact that he is a sound Sanskrit scholar. What is the use of taking *nilaṅ kaṭantāy*, *yōṅṅu kaṭantāy*, *ūrkaṭantāy*, etc., to be compounds when one can very easily take them as separate words?

From the points mentioned above, it may be clear that the interpretation of *tokai* as ellipsis mentioned by Dr. Pope in page xvii of the Introduction in Pope's edition of Tirukkuraḷ is not sound.

## 5. SYNTAX.

5. 1. *INTRODUCTION*: From the arrangement of the sections in Collatikāram, Tolkāppiyaṇār seems to have recognised that the unit of speech is a sentence. In the first section, *kiḷaviyākkam*, he says in the first eleven sūtras that the ending of the predicate must agree in gender, number and person with that indicated by the subject, and in the succeeding sūtras, he deals with the order of words in a sentence, the use of particular words in a context, etc. In the second section, the case-suffixes and their function are dealt with, since the former are necessarily found after nouns in a sentence. In the third section is mentioned the overlapping of case-functions and in the fourth, the vocative case. It is only at the beginning of the fifth section, *peyar-iyal*, Tolkāppiyaṇār defines *col* or word which forms a part of a sentence and classifies it primarily into two, noun and verb, and secondarily into four—noun, verb, *iṭai-col* and *uricol*. In the remaining portion of the fifth section, he deals with nouns; the sixth, seventh and eighth sections respectively deal with verbs, *iṭai-col* and *uricol* and the ninth and last, with miscellaneous topics like compounds, etc.

5. 2. *ORDER OF WORDS*: The normal order of words in a Tamil sentence is this:—The subject begins the sentence and the predicate ends it. (e.g.) *vāḷ valantara maṟuṣṣaṭṭaya* (The sword was stained after giving victory) (P. N. 4. 1); the predicate may be used at the beginning of the sentence when it is emphasised. (e.g.) *kaṇṭanen kaṟṇinukkaṇiyai-k-kaṇkaḷal* (saw I with eyes the ornament of chastity) (Kampar. C. Tiruvaṭi. 58.) As regards the cases, the sixth case must invariably precede the noun which it qualifies. (e.g.) *ālai-vāy-k-karumṇiṇ tēyum* (the sweet boiled juice of the sugarcane at the mill), (Kampar. B. 469,) the second case generally precedes the verb, but the third and the fourth cases also intervene between them. (e.g.) *talaiyai vaṇaṅki* (bowing the head) (Cilap. 490, 33); *iṭamulai kaiyāl tiruki* (twirling the left breast with hand) (Cilap. 421. 43); *vanta namṇiyai muntai . . . nāyṁarai muṇikkuk kāṭṭi* (having shown his brother to the sage learned

in the four vēdas) (Kampar. B. 233, 17). When certain things are enumerated first and their total number is indicated by an enumerative word, such a word should be followed by *um*. (e.g.) *muracu-muḷaṅku tūnai nūvaruṅ kūṭi*. (all the three having assembled with their armies beating drums) (Pattu. 61. 54). The past, present, and future, participle invariably precede the noun which they qualify. (e.g.) *nuti-maḷuṅkiya veṅkōṭṭāy* (with the white tusk whose end was blunted) (P. N. 4. 11). The nouns in apposition which denote the titles of persons generally precede the name of the person. (e.g.) *Teyvaḥḥulavanṅ Tiruvaḷḷuvay*.<sup>1</sup> If nouns and pronouns are used in the same sentence denoting the same person, the pronoun is generally used after the noun. (e.g.) *Cāttay avay vantāy*, but the order may be inverted in poetry. (e.g.) *avay . . . cēntay pēr vāḷṭti* (having blessed Cēntay) (Tol. Col. 32, Cēṅā.).

5. 3. *NUMBER*: Singular nouns with a collective sense take the singular verb.—(e.g.) *vaiyātu ulakam* (the world will not despise) (K. 117); plural forms are sometimes used as honorific singulars.—(e.g.) *yām ēttukam paḷavē* (I praise in many ways) (P. N. 10. 13); plural forms of verbs are sometimes used along with the singular nouns and *vice versa*.—(e.g.) *aṅāñ ceḷḷimō aruḷveyyōy* (P. N. 145, 7), *yāvō yām kāṅkū* (Ka. T. Vol. 2, 497. 22). Sometimes the plural forms of verbs are mixed with the singular forms. (e.g.) *uṅkum entai niy kāṅku vanticiy* (P. N. 125.4). Sometimes two or more singular nouns connected by the particle *um* take a singular verb after them. (e.g.) *māḷavar nōṅḥum maḷavār koṅḥum kāvalay kāval iṅṅū* (the celebrity and the chastity of holy women is not under guard) (E. M. 252, 208 and 209). *Oruvar* is the common form to denote either one man or one woman. (e.g.) *oruvarai-y-oruvar toṅarntār* (one followed another) (Kampar. C. Kiṅkarar, 25). In case when one is not able to ascertain whether the person standing before him is a male or a female, the plural verb should be used. (e.g.) *āṅmakay kollō peṅṭāṭṭi kollō aṅṭō tōṅṅuvār* (is it man or woman that

1. *Ciraḥḥi y-ākiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷavikkum*  
*Iyar-peyar-k kiḷavi murpaṅa-k kiḷavār*. (Tol. Col. 41.)

appears there).<sup>1</sup> The plural interrogative pronoun *yār* is used after singular nouns if the former is used as a logical predicate. (e.g.) *ivaṅ yār eṅkuvaiyāyīṅ* (if you ask who this man is) (P. N. 13.1).<sup>2</sup> Sometimes plural nouns are in apposition with singular nouns. (e.g.) *ēval iḷaiyar tāy vayiṅṅ karip̄pa* (Tol. Col. 461, Cēṅā.)

5. 4. *TIṆAI*: Sometimes *aṅṅiṅai* nouns are used as *uyartiṅai* nouns and *vice versa* out of affection (e.g.) *eṅ tantai vantāṅ* (with reference to a calf), *eṅ āṅai vantatū* (with reference to a son). Similarly *aṅṅiṅai* nouns are used as *uyartiṅai* and *vice versa* to denote superiority. (e.g.) *centār-p-ṅacuṅṅiṅiyār* (C. C. 1036.), *maṅṅay uyirttē malar talai-y-ulakam* (P. N. 186. 2).

5. 5. *CONCORD*: The finite verb agrees with its subject in gender, number and person as is generally found in Sanskrit. If two or more subjects of different persons are used, the plural verb of the first person is used if the subjects are of the first person, and either of the second or third persons or both, as *yāṅṅum niyūm ṅōṅṅom*, *yāṅṅum avaṅṅum ṅōṅṅom* or *yāṅṅum, niyūm avaṅṅum ṅōṅṅom*, and the plural verb of the second person is used if the subjects are of the second and third persons, as *niyūm avaṅṅum ṅōṅṅir*. In respect of these two points there is similarity between Sanskrit and Tamil.<sup>3</sup> If the subject is made up of a *uyartiṅai* noun and an *aṅṅiṅai* noun, the verb that follows is in *uyartiṅai*. (e.g.) *Poṅṅaṅṅum kutiraiyūm vantārkaḷ* (Poṅṅaṅ and his horse came) (Colloq.).

5. 6. *PRONOUNS*: Sometimes the word *ivaṅ* is used to denote the *first person singular*. (e.g.) *kāṅṅivaṅ kaṅṅuṅṅaiṅ* (P. N. 173.2). This is probably due to the desire of the speaker to address himself in the third person. The form *ivaṅ* is used, but not *avaṅ*, since he is the nearest third person to himself.

1. *Pāṅ-mayak kurra v-aiya-k kiḷavi*

*Tāṅ-ari poruḷ-vayiṅ ṅaṅmai kāṅal*. (Tol. Col. 23.)

2. If *yāvay* is abbreviated into *yāṅ* as *yāvar* into *yār*, its form would have been the same as the singular of the first personal pronoun *yāṅ* and hence *yār* may have been used in all genders and numbers to avoid confusion.

3. Cf. M. V. G. p. 290, S. 3.



The *third*, the *fourth*, the *fifth*, and the *seventh*, case are sometimes used in place of the *second*. (e.g.) *vāṇāl nōkki vāḷum*<sup>1</sup>; *ivaṭku-k-kollum vvaṇi*<sup>2</sup>; *paḷiyiṅ aṅcum*<sup>3</sup>; *aracarkaḷ cārntāṅ, kōṭṭiṅkaḷ kuṟaittāṅ*, etc.<sup>4</sup>

The *fourth* and *fifth* cases are sometimes used in place of the *third*. (e.g.) *avaṭku-c-ceyya-t-takum ikkāriyam*<sup>5</sup>; *vaṇikattiṅ āyiṅāṅ*<sup>6</sup>, *ampiṅ āṭṭutum* (Kampar. B. 28, 3). The *sixth* case is

to be produced and he directly mentions the meanings of all the cases other than the second in the sūtras dealing with the other cases and the object is left out, we are made to infer that the second case denotes the object. The authors of the Nēminātam and the Naṅṅūl also have not definitely stated it. (N. N. Col. 17 and Na. 296.) It is the author of the *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* who has mentioned it. (I. V. 199.)

1. *Iranṭaṅ maruṅki pōkka pōkkam-a-v*  
*V-iranṭaṅ maruṅki ṅ-ētu-v-u m-ākum.* (Tol. Col. 93.)
2. *Itaṅa titu-v-iṅ r-eyṅṅūṅ kiḷaviyūm*  
*Ataṅai-k kollum poruḷ-vayi ṅ-āṅum.* (ibid. 110.)
3. *Acca-k kiḷavik k-aintu m-iranṭum*  
*Ecca m-ilavē poruḷ-vayi ṅ-āṅa.* (ibid. 100.)
4. *Karuma m-allā-c cārpeṅ kiḷavikkū*  
*Urimaiyu m-uṭaittē kaṅṅeṅ vērrumai.* (ibid. 84.)  
*Ciṅai-nilai-k kiḷavik k-aiyuṅ kaṅ-ṅ-un*  
*Viṅai-nilai y-okku m-eymaṅār pulavar.* (ibid. 85.)  
*Kaṅṅal celavu m-oyrumār viṅaiyē.* (ibid. 86.)  
*Mutaṅ-ciṅai-k kiḷavi-k k-atu-v-ey vērrumai*  
*Mutaṅ-kaṅ variyē ciṅai-k-k-ai varumō.* (ibid. 87.)  
*Mutaṅ-mu ṅ-ai-variṅ kaṅ-ṅ-ey vērrumai*  
*Ciṅai-muṅ varuta reḷḷi teṅpa.* (ibid. 88.)  
*Mutaluṅ ciṅaiyūm poruḷ-vēru paṭāa*  
*Nuvaluṅ kālai-c coṅ-kuṅiṅ piṅavē.* (ibid. 89.)
5. *Itaṅa titu-v-iṅ r-eyṅṅūṅ kiḷaviyūm*  
*Ataṅār ceyar-paṭar k-otta kiḷaviyūm.* (ibid. 110.)
6. *Māṅṅaṅu m-aintaṅun tōṅṅa-k kāṅiya*  
*Ākkam-oṭu pūnarnta v-ētu-k kiḷavi*  
*Nōkkō r-aṅaiya v-eymaṅār pulavar.* (ibid. 92.)



sometimes used for the *fourth*. (e.g.) *nākaratu paḷi*.<sup>1</sup>

The *fourth* case and the *second* case are sometimes used for the *fifth*. (e.g.) *cāḷṭaraku neṭṭiyaṅ*<sup>2</sup>; *niṅai-p-pāṅai nūṅkuṁ tiru* (K. 519). The *seventh* case is sometimes used for the *sixth*. (e.g.) *kāṭṭiṅkaṅ yāṅai*.<sup>3</sup>

The *third* and *fourth* cases are sometimes used for the *seventh* (e.g.) *iṅmarō ivvulaḷattāṅē* (P. N. 74. 3); *nālvarkku maṅṅuvil aṅṅiṅil vēṅṅumai māṅṅiṅal* (Kampar. A. 216. 5).

Another point to be noted is that *all nouns without any case-suffix* may be used if they *precede* the verbs that they qualify; but *only the suffix* of the *second* case and the *seventh* case may be dropped if the noun *follows* the verb. (e.g.) *uṅṅuvam peṅṅuma nī nalkiya vaḷaṅē* (P.N. 136. 27); *kaṅṅaṅeṅ varuval ... kāḷē* (P. N. 23. 22).

The order of cases and their meanings are quite similar to what is found in Pāṅṅini's grammar. The parallelism between '*mūṅṅākuvatē . . . viṅṅaimutal karuṅṅi y-aṅṅai mutarṅṅatuvē* (Tol. Col. 73) 'and' *kartṅṅakaraṅṅayōs tyṅṅiṅ* (P. 2. 3. 18)' is quite striking.

5. 71. As regards the *third* case and its suffixes there are a few points to be considered:—(1) The suffix that is mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṅṅār for the *third* case is *oṅṅu*;<sup>4</sup> but he mentions *ōṅṅ* in the sūtra *ku-ai āṅṅ-ēṅa varū m-iṅṅuti . . .* (Tol. Col. 108) but does not state there that '*āṅṅ*' is the suffix of the *third* case. From the literature of the Sangam period it is determined as the *third* case suffix, since it is used instead of *oṅṅu*. (e. g.) *tūṅṅku kaiyā ṅ-ōṅṅku naṅṅaiya* (P.N. 22. 1). The later grammarians have taken it and its modified form *āl* as *third* case suffixes.

(2) The suffix *oṅṅu* in Tamil, when it denoted association, was

- 
1. Ku-t-toka varūṅ koṅṅai-y-etir kiḷavi  
A-p-poru ḷ-āṅṅar kurittu m-ākuṁ. (Tol. Col. 99.)
  2. Itoṅṅa titu-v-iṅṅ reṅṅṅuṅ kiḷaviyūṁ  
Pāl-varai kiḷaviyūṁ paṅṅpi ṅ-ākkamūṁ. (ibid. 110.)
  3. Aṅṅaṅ maruṅṅkiṅ vaḷcci-k kiḷamai-k-kū  
Ēḷu m-āku m-uṅṅai-nilat tāṅṅa. (ibid. 98.)
  4. Mūṅṅā kuvatē  
Oṅṅu-v-ēṅṅa-p peyariya vēṅṅumai-k kiḷavi  
Viṅṅai-mutal karuṅṅi y-aṅṅai-mutarṅṅatuvē. (ibid. 73.)



used after the word denoting the *more important object*.<sup>1</sup> (e. g. *tūmpuṭai-t-taṭakkai vāyoṭu lumintū* (P. N. 19. 10); *māṇṭa-v-eymanaiyiyōṭu makkaḷu nirampiyar* (P. N. 191. 3). Here it differs from Sanskrit where the third case suffix is used after the word denoting the *less important*. Cf. *sahayuktē apradhānē* (Pa. 2. 3. 19). Besides, the suffix *āṇ* is also used in Sangam works to denote *association*. But later on, *i.e.*, before or after the time of Nannulār, the suffix *oṭu* alone came to be restricted to denote *association*<sup>2</sup> and also it seems to have been used after the noun denoting the *less important*. (e.g.) *vanta nampiṭai-tamṭi tanṇōṭu . . . kāṭṭi* (Kampar. B. 233. 17); *kuḷayōṭu natikaḷ taṇ kuṭaikaḷ āravē* (Kampar. B. 164. 46).

5. 72. In this context the following statement of Dr. Caldwell deserves to be considered. "Dravidian Grammarians have arranged the case system of their nouns in the Sanskrit order, and in doing so have done violence to the genius of their own grammar. The Dravidian ablative of motion and the locative are evidently one and the same case, though represented as different by grammarians, in deference to Sanskrit precedents; and the Dravidian social ablative, as some have called it or rather as it should be termed, the conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian Languages has been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases, or added on to the instrumental case, simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as separate from instrumental. The conjunctive or social stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case signs of its own, whilst in Sanskrit it has none."<sup>3</sup>

This statement of Dr. Caldwell, so far as *Tamil* is concerned, is based on two points :—(1) Mention of *il* as the suffix both of the fifth and the seventh cases by the author of the Nannul and the modern usage of *iṇ* before *kaṇ* of the seventh case as in

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1. *Oru-viṇai y-oṭu-c-co l-uyar-piṇ vaṭittē*. (Tol. Col. 91.)
  2. *Māṇṭā vataṇ-uru pāl-ā ṇ-ōṭōṭu*  
*Karuvī karuttā uṭaiṅkaḷ vataṇ-poruḷ*. (Na. 297.)
  3. C. D. G. 277 and 278.

*ūriṅkaṅ* and (2) Dr. Caldwell's mistaking the third case suffix *oṭu* to denote only association. His statement would have been correct if the author of *Naṅṅūl* or more correctly his commentators had arranged the cases.

But the arrangement of the cases was done not by *Naṅṅūlār* or his commentators, but by *Tolkāppiyaṅār* and his predecessors. *Tolkāppiyaṅār* does not at all give 'il' as any case-suffix. He has stated that *iṅ* is the fifth case suffix and that it denotes the limit or comparison and *kaṅ* is the seventh case suffix denoting time and place of action. Besides, in his time and even in later times, *oṭu* was used not only to denote association, but also to denote instrument in the same way as the suffix *āl* or *āṅ*. For instance, the sentence *koṭṭiyōṭu tuvaṅkuṅṅāṅ* means 'he was punished with a creeper and not 'he was punished along with a creeper'. *Tolkāppiyaṅār* has first stated that the suffix *oṭu* denotes the doer of the action, the instrument and then only that it denotes the association also. Besides *āṅ* also was used to denote association, e.g., *tūṅku-kaiyāṅ oṅku naṭaiya*. (P. N. 22-1.) Hence at the time of *Tolkāppiyaṅār* both *oṭu* and *āṅ* were used to denote instrument and association. The point why *oṭu* and *āṅ* were not treated as the suffixes of separate cases is fully discussed in *Cēṅāvaraiyam*, a commentary on *Collatikāram* of *Tolkāppiyam* under *sūtra* 74 of *Collatikāram*. Hence Dr. Caldwell's criticism on the arrangement of cases by Tamil grammarians cannot at all stand.

5. 73. The following parallelism may be seen in the use of cases between Tamil and Sanskrit:—

*The third case is used to denote cause:*

Tamil:

*nalvinaiyāl avāṅai-ṭ-ṭārllēṅ*:<sup>1</sup>

Sanskrit:

*puṅyēna tam aṇāṣyam*<sup>2</sup>

*The fourth case is used instead of gerund in Tamil and instead of the infinitive of purpose in Sanskrit.*

1. *Iṅṅāṅ eṭū*. (Tol. Col. 74.)

2. *Hētāu*. (P. A. 2.3.23.)

Tamil:	Sanskrit:
<i>uṇṇavukku-c-cenṇāy</i> for <i>uṇṇa-</i> <i>c-cenṇāy</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>bhōjanāya yāti</i> for <i>bhōktum</i> <i>yāti</i> . <sup>2</sup>
<i>iḍḍiṭṭukku-p-poy</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>kuṇḍalāya svarṇam</i> <sup>4</sup>

The fifth case is used to denote contrast:

Tamil:	Sanskrit:
<i>iṇṇ avaiṇṇi celvamuṭaiyaṇ</i>	<i>ṣṣaḥ tasmāt aḍḍhyatarāḥ</i> <sup>5</sup>

There is a case of nominative absolute in Tamil with a noun in the nominative case followed by a gerund, e.g., *mukantaṇar koṭuṭṭa . . . uḷuvai pōrikkum āṇṇalai* (P. N. 33. 6 to 9). Here *koṭuttal* is the effect of his having been powerful. *maḷai pēyya, kuḷam niṇṇaitatū*. Here *pēyṭal* is the cause of *niṇṇaital*. Similarly, the form *ceyṭeṇa* is used instead of *ceya* in the above cases.

Such nominative absolutes are absent in Sanskrit; and the genitive and locative absolutes found in Sanskrit are absent in Tamil.

The author of the Pirayōkavivēkam mentions that '*pulli viṭṭāṭ pulaviyūḷ*' in '*pulliviṭṭāṭ-pulaviyūḷ iḍḍiṇṇumēṇ ṇuḷḷa muṭaiykkum paṭai*' is a case of locative absolute in P. V. p. 26. Since the form in Tamil has no similarity to that in Sanskrit, I do not agree with him. It may be taken only as a case of nominative absolute.

Cēṇāvaraiyar in his commentary under Tol. Col. 71 divides *ceyaṭṭaṭuṭoruḷ* or object into three classes, viz., *iyaṇṇaṭṭaṭuṭuḷ* or that which is newly made, *vēṇṇuṭṭaṭṭaṭuṭuḷ* or that which is transformed and *eyṭaṭṭaṭuṭuḷ* or that which is obtained or reached. This is possibly the translation of the following Kārikā in Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya:

*Nivartiyam ca vikāryam ca prāpyam ca trividham matam |*  
*Tatrēṭṣitalamam karma . . .*

(Vākyapadīya, 3rd Kāṇḍa, 45th Kārikā.)

1. *Ataṅku uṭampāṭuḷ*. (Tol. Col. 76.)
2. *Tumarthācca bhāva vacanāt*. (P. A. 2.3.15.)
3. *Atuvāku kiḷavi*. (Tol. Col. 76.)
4. *Tādarthyē caturthī vācyā*. (Vārtika.)
5. *Pañcamīvibhaktē*. (P. A. 2.3.42.);

5. 8. *TENSES*: The *past* tense in Tamil is used for the *present* or the *future* to denote haste<sup>1</sup> or speed e.g., *ilō vantēṅ* meaning 'I am coming' or 'I shall come soon'. Sometimes the *past* is used for the *present* to denote certainty e.g. *aṟintēṅ* for *aṟikirēṅ* (Ka. T. Vol. 2. 583. 7). Sometimes the *present* is used for the *future* as in Sanskrit<sup>2</sup> e.g., *Parataṅē tūṅka māmuṣi cūlukinṟōṅ* (Kampar, A. 216, 4.) and *āgacchāmi* for *āgamisyāmi*.<sup>3</sup> The *future* is used for the *past* and *vice versa*<sup>4</sup>. (e. g.) *malar micai-y-ēkṅāṅ* (K. 3. Comm.)—here *ēkṅāṅ* is used for *ēkuvāṅ*; *nilaiyal cēviteṅpa* (Tol. Col. 68)—here *eṅpa* is used for *eṅṟaṅar*; *cellēṅ* for *cāvēṅ* (T. V. 3. 165).

5. 9. *PARTICIPLES*: 'Participles are of a two-fold nature in as much as they share the characteristics of both noun and verb.' In form they are adjectives in concord. They not only govern cases like the verb, but also indicate time and differences of voice. The purpose that is served by relative pronouns in Sanskrit is served by the participles in Tamil.—(e.g.) '*kuṭattai-c-ceyta kuyavaṅ vantāṅ*' corresponds to the Sanskrit sentence '*yaḥ ghaṭam akarōt saḥ āgataḥ*,' which means the potter who made the pot came. The use of participles past, present and future is generally similar to that of participles in Sanskrit, though, in form, they are declined in the latter and they are not declined in the former. The use of participles denoting cause as *Harim paṣyan mucyatē* (cf. *lakṣaṇahētvoḥ* (P. A. 3.1.126.) is not found in Tamil. The indeclinable past participle is used instead. (e.g.) *ariyai-p-pārttu vīṭu perrāṅ*.

- 
1. *Vāra-k kālattu nikaḷuṅ kālattum*  
*Ōrāṅku varūm viṅai-c-coṟ kiḷavi*  
*Iṟanta kālattu-k kuṟippoṭu kiḷattal*  
*Virainta poruḷa v-eṅ-maṅār pulavar.* (Tol. Col. 241.)
  2. *Vāra-k kālattu viṅai-c-coṟ kiḷavi*  
*Iṟappiṅu nikaḷviṅuṅ ciraṅpa-t tōṅṟum*  
*Iyarkaiyūn teḷivūṅ kiḷakkuṅ kālai.* (Tol. Col. 245.)
  3. *Vartamāna sāmīpyē vartamānavadvā.* (P. A. 3.3.131.)
  4. *Iṟappē y-etirvē y-āyiru kalamuṅ*  
*Ciraṅpa-t tōṅṟu mayāṅku-moḷi-k kiḷavi.* (Tol. Col. 247.)

The indeclinable past participles of the forms *ceytū*, *ceyyū* and *ceypū* are generally used to denote an action done by an agent previous to another action done by the same. Their use in Tamil is generally similar to the indeclinable participles in Sanskrit. The sūtras '*avarraḥ mutanilai mūṅṅum viṅaimutaṅ muṭiṭiṅa* (Tol. Col. 230)' and '*ceyten eccat tīranta kalam eytiṅa ṅuṭaittē vārāk kalam* (Tol. Col. 239)' convey almost the same idea as '*samānakartṛkayōḥ pūrvakālē* (P. A. 3.4.21). But sometimes these indeclinable participles in Tamil are used as absolutes, when their subject denotes a part of the person denoted by the subject of the finite verb. (e.g.) *kai irru avay viḷntāy*. Very rarely are they used as gerunds. (e.g.) *nāvāy oṭṭi vaḷitoḷil aṅṅa-v-uravōṅ maruka* (P. N. 66.1.) Here *oṭṭi* is used in the sense of 'for steering'.

The gerunds of the form *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya*, *ceyarḱū*, *ceytena* and *ceya* convey the same sense as the infinitive of purpose in Sanskrit. But there is difference in their use. *In Sanskrit the infinitive of purpose always takes for its subject, the subject of the finite verb which follows.*<sup>1</sup> *But in Tamil they may take the same subject or not.*<sup>2</sup> In the latter case we have the absolute construction. (e.g.) *maḷai peyya*, *kuḷam niṅaintatū*.

The form *ceyiṅ* is used to denote condition. Such an infinitive form is not found in Sanskrit. In the place of *ceyiṅ* Sanskrit has to use '*karōti cēl*.'

Similarly, the form *ceyiṅum* is used in literature to denote contrast. It means 'though one does'. In its place Sanskrit generally uses an indeclinable participle followed by *api* as *krtvā api*.

In Tamil a number of finite verbs are used without the connecting particle. (e.g.) *vāḷttiṅeṅ paravutum* (Pari. 70.83.); *niṅ kaṅṅaṅeṅ varuval* (P.N. 23.17.); *nī nalkiṅai viṅumati* (P. N. 136.24). In such cases, all the finite verbs except the last are

1. *Samāna-kartṛkēṣu tumun*. (P. A. 3.3.158.)

2. *Ēṅai y-eccam viṅai-mutal-āṅum*  
*Aṅ-van tiyāiyum viṅai-nilai y-āṅum*  
*Tām-iyay maruṅkiṅ muṭiyu m-eypa*. (Tol. Col. 232.)

taken to be indeclinable participles by the author of the *Naṅṅūl* and the later grammarians.<sup>1</sup>

5.10. *PECULIAR INTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN CONSTRUCTIONS BY TAMIL GRAMMARIANS: 5.101.* In the sentence '*Namṅi ṅoṅ ṅeriyāṅ*' which means *Namṅi* is great on account of wealth, Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavar, a commentator on the *Naṅṅūl* says under the sūtra '*uyartiṅai toṅarnta . . .*' (Na. 377) that the word *Namṅi* is *uyartiṅai eḷuvōy* or subject and the word *ṅoṅ* is *aḷṅiṅai eḷuvōy* and the latter is peculiarly followed by the *uyartiṅai* predicate *ṅeriyāṅ*.<sup>2</sup> When one reads the sentence, it may clearly appear that something is predicated of *Namṅi* and not *ṅoṅ*; besides the predicative element is not confined to the word *ṅeriyāṅ* alone. Hence under the general rules of grammar it must be taken that *Namṅi* is the subject and the compound word *ṅoṅ ṅeriyāṅ* corresponding to Sanskrit *dhanamahitāḥ* is the predicate or *ṅeriyāṅ* is the predicate and *ṅoṅ* is the enlargement of the predicate in the sense of *ṅoṅṅāḷ*. If *ṅoṅ* and *ṅeriyāṅ* are taken to be two separate words, it may be easily said that *ṅoṅ* is third case, with its third case suffix dropped according to the sūtra *Iṅṅutiyu m-iṅaiyu m-eḷḷāv-uruṅṅum—Neṅi-ṅaṅ uṅoruḷ-vayi ṅilavutal varaiyōṅ* (Tol. Col. 103) and the third case denotes cause as is sanctioned by the word *ḷtū* in Tol. Col. 74; or *ṅoṅ ṅeriyāṅ* may be taken to be a verb formed from a compound *ṅoṅṅerumai*. The objection that is raised by Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavar against the latter interpretation is that, in that case, it must have been *ṅoṅṅeriyāṅ* according to the rules of sandhi. Either this form may be brought under an exception, or the former interpretation may be accepted. It has a parallel in the sentence *avaḷ kaṅṅāḷ kottai* where the third case is used. Similarly *namṅi ṅoṅṅai ṅeriyāṅ* has assumed the form of *namṅi ṅoṅ ṅeriyāṅ*.

If we carefully read through the sūtra '*uyartiṅai toṅarnta ṅoruḷ mutalōṅṅum ataṅoṅu cārttiṅ attiṅai muṅiṅiṅa*' (Na. 377) Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavar seems to voice forth the opinion of

1. *Viṅai-muṅṅē viṅai y-ecca m-ākalum*  
*Kuṅiṅṅu-muṅ ṅir-ecca m-ākalu m-uḷavē.* (Na. 351.)
2. Na. C., p. 206.



Nannūlar. One is at a loss to know why Nannūlar should have chosen to suggest that explanation. *There is, in my opinion, no sūtra in Tolkāṭṭiyam conveying the same idea; but I have come into contact with Tamil Pandits who think that this sūtra is based on Tol. Col. 61. It may be considered here whether it is so or not.*

5.1011. The sūtra referred to is this:—

*Kaṇṇum tōḷum mulaiyum piṇṇavum*

*Paṇmai cuṭṭiya ciṇainilai-k kiḷavi*

*Paṇmai kūruṅ kaṭaṭṭā ṭ-ilave*

*Tamviṇai-k k-iyalu m-eḷuttalaṅ kaṭaiyē. (Tol. Col. 61.)*

This may be translated thus:—The words denoting the limbs as *kaṇ, tōḷ, mulai*, etc., which generally denote more than one (*i. e.*) two, *need not denote two except when they are followed by verbs suited to them, i. e., neuter plural verbs.* The examples which are given by Ḥampūraṇar under this sūtra are *kaṇ nallaḷ, tōḷ nallaḷ*, and *mulai nallaḷ*. He has not stated that the subject, in such cases, is *kaṇ, tōḷ* or *mulai*. But the later grammarians and the author of the Nannūl seem to have mistaken *kaṇ*, etc., to be in the nominative case and hence the subject of *nallaḷ*, etc.

I would prefer to interpret the sūtra as follows:—The words *kaṇ, tōḷ, mulai*, etc., which refer to objects forming natural pairs do not invariably denote the pair unless they are followed by a plural verb. Hence it is not absolutely necessary that a woman should have both her eyes beautiful to be described as *avaḷ kaṇ nallaḷ*. Such a sentence would be appropriate even when one of the eyes was beautiful. To be more clear, I may take the example ‘*Kaṇṇaki mulai-y-ilāḷ*’, which I have often heard used by recognised Pandits. It is known to every Tamil scholar that *Kaṇṇaki*, the heroine of the Cilappatikāram cut off one of her breasts and threw it away at Madura. Hence ‘*Kaṇṇaki mulai-y-ilāḷ*’ does not mean that *Kaṇṇaki* is devoid of her *breasts*, but it means that *Kaṇṇaki* is devoid of *one breast*. Hence this sūtra does not deal with the *form* of words, but their *meaning*.

If such an interpretation is not given, I think that this sūtra is not necessary here and hence it may be omitted; for, it is



certain that Tolkāppiyāṇār would have taken only *avaḷ* as the subject of *nallaḷ* and hence the predicate *nallaḷ* agrees with the subject in gender and number.

One may question what the construction of *kaṇ* is, in '*avaḷ kaṇ nallaḷ*' according to this interpretation. As I said in the case of the form *poṇ periyaṇ*, one may take *kaṇ* as a separate word in third case with the case-suffix dropped, or may take *kaṇnallaḷ* as a compound acting the part of the predicate to *avaḷ*.

5.102. There are two more types of sentences where my explanation of the construction happens to differ from that ordinarily found in commentaries.

5.1021. '*Cākāṭum accu iṇum*' (K. 475) represents one of these types. On this Kuṇḷ, Parimēlaḷakar writes that the verb *iṇum* which is suited to the word *accu* which denotes a part of the cart is used here as the predicate of the word *cākāṭu* (which denotes the whole). The sentence means 'the cart will have its axle broken.' Though it is the axle that breaks, the cart also may be said to break in its axle. Hence it seems to me that it is not absolutely necessary to take *iṇum* to be a *ciṇai-viṇai* or the verb suited to the *ciṇai* or part. Parimēlaḷakar has said so perhaps with the idea that *accu* is also a subject, as interpreted by Naṇṇūlār. (Cf. *poṇ periyaṇ* supra.) It has already been said that it is against the ordinary ways of expressing one's idea. Hence, in this sentence, *accu* may be taken as the predicate of *cākāṭum* or *iṇum* may be taken as the predicate and *accu* as the seventh case singular with the case-suffix dropped.

5.1022. '*Aḷattarkariyai aṇivum iṇamum*' (P. N. 20. 516.) represents another type. The commentator on Puṇanāṇṇūṇṇu says that the *ciṇai*, *aṇivum* and *iṇamum* have taken for their predicate *aḷattarkariyai*, the verb suited to the *mutal* or the person having *aṇivu*, *iṇam*, etc. It is evident that the word *aḷattarkariyai* is second person singular and means 'you cannot be measured', and the words *aṇivu* and *iṇam* are each neuter singular meaning knowledge and compassion respectively. Hence the sentence may be taken to mean 'you cannot be measured in your knowledge and compassion'. Since *aḷattarkariyai* is second person

singular, the word *nī* may be taken as the subject that is understood and *aṟivum* and *īramuṉ* may be taken as nouns in the seventh case with the case-suffixes dropped, since the dropping of the seventh case suffix in nouns which follow the predicates is allowed by the sūtra

*Ai-y-uñ kaṇ-ṇ-u m-allā-p poruḷ-vayin*

*Mey-y-urupū tokāa v-iruti y-āṇa.* (Tol. Col. 105.)

and such examples are found in plenty in literature.—(e. g.) *kaṇṇaṇṇ varuval...kāḷē* (P. N. 23.22.)—Here *kāḷē* means *kāḷiṇ-kaṇṇē*; *tikaittāṇai pōluñ ceykai* (Kampar. K. 247.78.)—here *ceykai* means *ceykaiyiṇkaṇ*.

Hence I think that it is not necessary to formulate, as is done by the later grammarians, that the words which denote parts of a whole may take predicates after them which are suited to the whole and *vice versa*.



## CONCLUSION.

It may be evident from what has been said that Tolkāppiyaṅār clearly realised that Tamil was not related to Sanskrit either morphologically or genealogically and deftly exploited the ideas contained in the earlier grammatical literature in Sanskrit, particularly in those works which dealt with Vēdic etymology, without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil language. On the other hand, the large influx of Sanskritic elements in Tamil since the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār appears to have so far clouded the linguistic vision of the author of Vīracōḷiyam that he was led to assume close family relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit. Further the author of Vīracōḷiyam does not appear to have realised that Tolkāppiyaṅār's model was not Pāṇini so much as the Prātiśākhya and the Nīruka. As a result of this important divergence in view-point, the Vīracōḷiyam proceeded to violently drag Tamil language and grammar into the groove of Sanskrit—a feature which, in no sense, is traceable in Tolkāppiyam. It must, however, be conceded, in fairness to Vīracōḷiyam, that its author has brought within the scope of his grammar such changes in the Tamil language as had come about since the time of Tolkāppiyaṅār.

Naṅṅūlār was not a victim to the linguistic deflection which marred the value of the Vīracōḷiyam. While he adhered to the method of Tolkāppiyaṅār in respect of his fidelity to the genius of the Tamil language, he proceeded to complete the supplementing process initiated in the Vīracōḷiyam. A fateful periodicity appears to have characterised the line of Tamil Grammarians; for, the author of the Pirayōkavivēkam who came after Naṅṅūlār has lapsed with redoubled vigour into the Sanskritising groove of the Vīracōḷiyam.

But, luckily, the vitality of Tamil outlived all these grammatical vicissitudes. It is indeed gratifying that some of the latest grammarians—Vaittiyaṅātātēcikaṅkar, the Rev. C.J. Beschi and Civaṅṅamunivar—have happily switched back to the healthy out-look and ideal of Tolkāppiyam.

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